

**THE LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL PREREQUISITES**

**FOR PARTICIPATION IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY**

by

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# C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
Preface .. .. .	i
Statement .. .. .	ii
Abstract .. .. .	iii
INTRODUCTION .. .. .	1
 PART I : DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTUALISATIONS	 15
Chapter 1, Language, Society, Culture and Their Relationship ..	 16
 PART II : PROPOSITIONS .. .. .	 98
Chapter 1, The Participation of Migrants from Non-English- speaking Countries in Australian Society	 99
Chapter 2, The Participation of Aborigines in Australian Society ..	 156
Chapter 3, The Preparation for Participation of Migrant Children ..	 216
Chapter 4, The Preparation for Participation of Abori- ginal Children ..	 250
Chapter 5, Participation Without the Loss of Identity - A Strategy for Minorities ..	 295
 PART III : POLICY IMPLICATIONS .. .. .	 324
Chapter 1, The Implication for Immigration, Assimi- lation and Education Policies, and Conclusion ..	 325
 Selected Bibliography .. .. .	 383

## S T A T E M E N T

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

*W. Postock.*  
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## P R E F A C E

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## A B S T R A C T

### THE LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL PREREQUISITES FOR PARTICIPATION IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

When we examine the liberal democracies of the world, we find that their workings are undermined by differences of language, culture and race. Members of linguistic, cultural and racial minorities often maintain that their participation in society must necessarily be from outside the 'rules of the game', through, for example, violence.

Are we thus bound to draw the conclusion that the concept of liberal democracy presupposes a linguistically, culturally, and racially homogeneous society? In the case of Australia, its political leaders have, in their never-ending search for labour to develop the nation's resources, based their policies upon the assumption that this homogeneity must be provided, and hence the aim of assimilation. With regard to race, only members of the European or Caucasian race, with preference going to Northern Europeans, were permitted to enter, while the indigenous racial minority, the Aborigines, were expected to be racially assimilated or absorbed into the European-Australian population. With regard to their languages and cultures, these were expected to be replaced in due course by the English language and Australian culture, as were those of migrants.

Has the assimilationist policy worked? In the case of the

more easily assimilable migrants, such as the Dutch and the Germans, it has worked. They have often lost all trace of their original language and culture and become indistinguishable from other Australians. In the case of the less easily assimilable migrants, that is those whose language and culture are further removed from that of the host society, such as Greece and Turkey, it is proceeding with more difficulty. In the case of the Aborigines, assimilation is not proceeding at all. Instead of having the Aboriginal language and culture replaced with the English language and European-Australian culture, they are now finding a despised position on the fringe of a white society whose language and culture they only imperfectly understand while at the same time they have in many cases lost their own language and culture, and with it sense of identity.

The ideal of an harmonious society, free from the violence and bitterness of oppressed linguistic, cultural or racial minorities is one that most would accept. But is the elimination through assimilation of minorities the only way to achieve this kind of society? The conceptual basis of the assimilation policy must be challenged. Firstly, the physical characteristics of a race can never be completely eliminated, even after many generations of inter-marriage. Secondly, a language and a culture cannot easily be suppressed, not at least in the life of one generation. Thirdly, there is no basis for the belief that one individual cannot be both bilingual and bicultural, so that linguistic and cultural suppression may be unnecessary. Fourth and lastly, the results of unsuccessful policies of linguistic, cultural and racial assimilation may be

more conducive to resentment, bitterness and conflict, than the absence of such policies. Rather than assimilation, the aim of government policy should be to provide the means of participation, that is, to encourage the members of linguistic, cultural and racial minorities not to suppress their distinct identities, but to develop, alongside their existing language and culture, the degree of competence in the English language and Australian culture necessary for participation. Many scholarly investigations have shown that the process of learning a new language and culture is facilitated rather than hindered by the maintenance of the existing language and culture.

Our objective then is a policy with an ideal according to which, for example, Sicilians, Mauritians or Aborigines are not, as at present, struggling with limited success to assimilate themselves to the language and culture of white Anglo-Saxon Australians, but one in which the members of these groups are able to participate as Sicilian Australians, Mauritian Australians or Aboriginal Australians, secure in the uniqueness of their identity, and yet participating fully in every aspect of the life of the nation. The Jewish Australians and to a smaller extent, but in the same way, the Chinese Australians, have shown that participation without total assimilation is a realistic and desirable objective. Without the contribution of these groups, Australia would be a very much less rich society in many different respects.

The participation of a minority group must be encouraged to take place within an open system. If minority participation is

blocked by the linguistic and cultural majority, a situation of 'participation from outside' along the lines of terrorism and violence can be predicted. The participation must be carried out in the English language and according to common cultural norms, as for example, are provided in the parliamentary system of government. If every member of a minority is fully bilingual and bicultural, no such blockage could come to exist.

The development of multilingual multicultural participatory democracy would be assisted by changes in the education system which produces at present a high degree of monolingual monoculturalism. If young Australians of British origin, could be encouraged to learn another language and assume the rudiments of another culture in addition to their own, they would realise the relativity of their native language and culture, and thus find themselves in a better position to admit the advantages to be gained from the participation of the minorities in their midst. Moreover, there could be an additional advantage: that Australia could participate more in the outside world than the monolingual and monocultural education which at present is given allows.

This very same solution has been proposed by a Royal Commission into the languages and cultures of Canada. Moreover, in Switzerland, we find a multilingual and multicultural population who are able to exist in harmony because they are multilingual and multicultural. Furthermore, when the members of racial minorities possess perfect fluency in the language and culture of the racial majority, the causal conditions of discrimination are removed, while at the

same time, a sense of identity is maintained.

We are thus entitled to draw a conclusion that: providing the linguistic and cultural prerequisites of participatory democracy are met, any amount of linguistic, cultural and racial diversity can exist, and, moreover may be highly beneficial to participation within that democracy.

## INTRODUCTION

Among the problems of life in present day Australian society we must recognize prejudice, unemployment, inflation, poverty, intolerance, greed, loneliness and 'anomie' or lack of identity. If the answers to these problems are ultimately ones of individual morality, which we may suspect, is there nothing we can do but exhort our fellow men to live more moral lives? Much of modern sociology seems to indicate that this is so. But even if it is the moral sense of individual man upon which the happiness of society depends, there is much that public policy can do to load or to lighten the burden of moral choice which each man must carry. It is in this area, the public policy, that our present work concerns itself, and we will show how certain public policies can lead to an increase in the chances of happiness among individuals and in society.

The magnitude of this task may seem to indicate a degree of arrogance on our part, but surely it would be wrong to confine one's attentions only to small problems. Among the academic theses that are written today, it is customary to take smaller and smaller areas of investigation in the hope of finding knowledge of a more profound kind. This method of analysis is particularly appropriate to the natural sciences. It may also have validity among the social sciences. However, for political problems this method is not appropriate. The political dimension of human affairs is such that the investigator can not approach his subject from a closer and closer viewpoint. Indeed he must take precisely the opposite viewpoint,

one as far removed from his subject as possible so that he can gain, in as clear a way as he can, a comprehension of as many of the relevant features of a situation, and moreover, one which is over the longest term, so that all of the repercussions of a given policy have time to become apparent. Politics are present in all human affairs. The act of making a decision is to imply having a policy and where there are policies then politics is the art or science of effecting them. The task of the political scientist is thus to study the art, or science, of making policies: how they are actually made and how they might better be made. It is this activity which makes his occupation distinct and provides it with its justification. The task of the political scientist is not that of the sociologist, psychologist or, if he should be concerned with for example farming policies, agricultural scientist. The political dimension is such that we must try to assemble evidence of the possible implications of policy alternatives. In addition, we cannot escape from this political dimension because 'having no policy' is of course a policy, just as taking no action is also an integral part of the realm of action.

The kinds of problems confronting Australia today, as outlined above, do have a number of features in common, while the problems of Australia have much in common with those of other nations. This is in fact a universal political problem: nation-building among the newer nations, integration or 'holding together' a more established nation, or revolution in one that has decayed and must be built again from scratch. The problems differ with viewpoint, but do in fact amount to the same thing. In the case of Australia, the

problem is one of 'holding together' the society. The two threats to this society from within itself are firstly, that people may not be able to participate in society, and therefore wish to destroy it, and secondly, have no sense of who they are, and this of course can lead to the first. In other words, our political problem in Australia is to help people to find an identity and to give them the means to participate in the social life which surrounds them.

The centrality of these two concepts to social life has always been recognized. The popular belief, which became and is still reflected in laws, is that in order to participate one must assimilate oneself to the Anglo-Australian ideal. In the subsequent chapters we will see that this policy has not really worked. Assimilation depends for its success upon prior proximity of language and culture to the ideal. For a Dutchman or a German, for example, assimilation has been fairly easy, if he wanted to be assimilated. He was able to lose his original language and culture and become an Australian, indistinguishable from other Australians except perhaps for his surname. Among the rural communities of the Barossa Valley, German settlers established a now famous and thriving wine industry. But having established it, the settlers succumbed to the pressures of assimilation and all that remains as evidence of this little bit of Germany transplanted to Australia is a failing knowledge of German among some of the few remaining old people. Among the once thriving Dutch communities of Tasmania, such as Little Grogningen, near Kingston, traces of the original Dutch language and culture are fading rapidly.

The largest groups of non-British migrants since the war have



been those from the Mediterranean countries, Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia. For these people assimilation is proceeding, but more slowly than that of the Northern Europeans. Their languages and cultures are still strong, but are entering the stages where they are now showing marked differences from those of the mother countries. Among Italians, for example, there is now a new dialect which has been called Australitalian in which a high proportion of anglicisms enable Italians from many different regions and dialects to communicate with one another as they mingle in their new home. Looking at the situation of Italians, Greeks and Yugoslavs of earlier immigrations and who have now assimilated, there is little doubt that they will all one day be able to do so.

But when we turn to Australia's other great linguistic and cultural minority, which is also a racial minority, the Aborigines, it becomes painfully obvious that the official policy of assimilation is not working. In the sense that they are losing all knowledge of their native languages and cultures, it is working. But with respect to their assuming the English language and Australian culture, it is not working. In virtually any activity in any part of the country, the Aborigine finds his place on the fringe of the settlement, among the unemployed, in the criminal courts, and into illness and demoralisation, if that is, he has survived an infant mortality rate which is among the world's highest. Prejudice on the part of whites against the Aborigines is the common, and indeed obvious, explanation of the Aborigines' despised position in Australian society and the sense of shame and hopelessness which they feel. Prejudice there is, but mere appeals and injunctions to whites to 'have less

prejudice' do not touch the roots of the problem. It is not being alarmist to believe that Aborigines will not always be content with this position in a society which they regard as alien. Nor is it being unrealistic to recognize the signs that migrants from the Mediterranean countries, or the newer sources of Turkey, Egypt, Mauritius, or the Pacific, will be content to wait the three or four decades to achieve assimilation in a society which remains predominantly Anglo-Saxon.

The present age has been described as the 'revolution of rising expectations'. There can be no doubt that the omnipresence of the media of visual communication can explain much of this rise in expectations, to the extent that it can no longer be safely assumed that minorities of race, language and culture will be content with a second or third class position on society. Many students and academics today take the view that Western type society is so corrupt that it must be destroyed. For those whose lives have never been touched by pain, death or suffering, violent revolution may well appear an attractive solution. With regard to Australia today we must reject it, firstly on moral grounds, and secondly on the practical grounds that it would not solve any problems but simply transfer existing ones and perhaps create new ones. If history has any lesson, it must be that in the end, people have no choice but to live with one another in a state of harmony and not conflict.

The responsibility for the failure of the assimilation policies lies in the concept of assimilation itself. If all people were all assimilated, i.e., alike one another, there could, by definition be no discrimination. Moreover, being assimilated does

not necessarily bring happiness. Happiness, or perhaps we could say better, fulfillment, comes from participating in the society of which an individual is part, and in a meaningful way. Receiving a Social Security cheque is participating, but it is not meaningful in the way that performing a useful role in employment is meaningful. No good comes from unemployment or underemployment of human resources. To have no meaningful role in society is the fate of many migrants and virtually all Aborigines. This is so because, as we shall see, participation in society presupposes that individual people possess a knowledge of the language and ways of that society. In the subsequent chapters we will see a pattern clearly emerge: that the nature and type of participation depends upon the extent of possession of linguistic and cultural prerequisites

to participate.

of language and culture, and assimilation thus implies the ability effective, would provide all members of society with the prerequisites cant kind of participation. The assimilationist policies, if

many migrants have very little opportunity to undertake any significant

of participation in society, and that, at present Aborigines and

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a barrier to participation at the professional level in Australia at the present time, and secondly, that, in the cases of, for example, Jews, or Chinese, the maintenance of a distinct identity through language, culture and race, is no bar to participation, and moreover, these groups are no longer required to assimilate to the Christian Anglo-Saxon ideal. This is not to say that prejudice has never played a powerful role in Australian history. Clearly it has, but in modern industrial societies, the need for performance by individuals is such that if they are known to be able to fulfil a role, then those individuals are required by the majority to fulfil those roles, whether they be soldier, dentist, teacher, company director or governor-general; minority group identity is now largely irrelevant to role performance. The great barrier to participation is, we shall observe, failure to possess the linguistic and cultural skills for participation, and it is one that is being perpetuated through the failure of education systems to attack the problem. Though a major part of our work is concerned to show that the prerequisites of participation are not possessed by all groups, this is only one of several thrusts. The other is that possession of the linguistic and cultural prerequisites does not preclude possession of another distinct language and culture. Indeed, after consulting some authorities on language and education, we find the unanimous opinion that the acquisition of the prerequisite knowledge of the second language is most effectively accomplished WHEN BASED ON A SOUND KNOWLEDGE OF THE NATIVE TONGUE. We find this confirmed by the evidence that knowledge of the English language is most advanced among those migrants who have the soundest knowledge of

their native tongue. Similarly, the authorities on Aboriginal education are unanimous that the education of Aboriginal children is at its most effective when based on a secure knowledge of the native Aboriginal language. When this procedure is not followed, Aboriginal children soon fall far behind white Australian children and then enter the adult world with a severe handicap. Although probably the majority of Aborigines have now lost the knowledge of their native tongues, this has not been replaced with a firm grasp of standard English. Instead, they speak a dialect known as Aboriginal English which has only a limited intelligibility for speakers of standard Australian English. The full-blooded Aborigine today, after 200 years of contact, has not been assimilated but is losing, or has already lost, his original language and culture and therefore sense of identity. If Aborigines were given a knowledge of the prerequisites of white society, they could participate without the sacrifice of their identity. Occasionally, with exceptionally gifted individual Aborigines, this happens, but even then it is in the non-verbal forms of participation through art, music or sport.

Australia is a highly multilingual society when one considers its linguistic minorities who are estimated to number more than one million. But in view of our observation of societies with language problems, it is clear that there must be no language other than English for the purposes of political, economic, legal and official transactions. But for social and cultural relations between individuals, within families, or between man and God, it is not necessary that this language be English. Indeed, it is desirable that, in certain cases, it should not be, in view of the intractable

problems which arise when people are forced to do so against their will, by social or governmental pressures. The migrants and indigenous peoples must be given a knowledge of the prerequisites for social, educational, economic, and political participation in Australian society. But, there is no need for them to be assimilated in all respects in order to participate. Bilingual education for migrant children such that in English and in the native language the child's intellectual development proceeds smoothly without the wasted time of learning nothing while trying to acquire English is the most effective educational strategy. Migrants thus need not be asked to make an unnecessary sacrifice of native language and culture among their children. If migrant couples were to wish their children to become fully assimilated Australians without knowledge of their parents' language and culture, conceivably because of an unhappy or tragic experience in their past, no pressure should be exerted for those children to be anything but assimilated. But investigations have shown that bilingual education brings many advantages to those who receive it, and we will argue that the state should encourage language maintenance among those migrants and Aborigines who should want their children to receive it, after seeing that the prerequisite knowledge of the English language is imparted. In the imparting of this prerequisite knowledge there can of course be no compromise.

The time could very soon arrive when migrants and Aborigines have achieved a position in society which is envied by Anglo-Australians. This is likely to be so because these people would be recognized as having a distinct identity, in comparison with which the Anglo-Australians would judge themselves to be bland, colourless,

and lacking in identity. For one thing, the minority group members would be envied for their knowledge of a language which equips them for an alternative life style, perhaps in another society. Moreover, they would be envied for the sense of purpose that their group membership imparts, the purpose being to maintain the language and culture of their group.

However, there is a solution to the anomie or lack of identity and purpose felt by an increasing number of young Anglo-Australians. The educational philosophy which holds sway in Australia today is one which promotes the concept of 'self-fulfilment' through creative expression. The validity of this aim we do not dispute, but the means by which it is attempted seem often to render it self-defeating. Education in a second language is now widely rejected as an educational ideal appropriate to young Australians. Yet if it were reinstated as a necessary adjunct to education in the linguistic and cultural prerequisites provided for native-English speaking children, it would have a number of highly beneficial effects. Firstly, it would restore a sense of challenge to the educational experience which at present is notoriously lacking. Secondly, it would reduce the ethnocentrism now widespread among Anglo-Australians and indeed all Anglo-Saxon peoples, by causing them to grapple with the language and culture different from their own. Thirdly, Anglo-Australian children could, through the adoption by government authorities of appropriate educational policies, come to adopt a language and culture in addition to their own. Providing it were properly taught, a lifelong interest could be developed and provide every individual with the means of gaining linguistic and cultural access to the

society of his specialisation. Which language should the Anglo-Australian child be encouraged to take up is a matter in need of careful attention. The language could be an international one, or a language of migrants to Australia, an Aboriginal language, or one of a neighbouring country, and one of a small number selected for widespread study by Education Authorities from which the child and his parents should select. Changing languages in the course of education should not be encouraged. If this ideal seems rather unrealistic, we should take note that the official educational policy of the Education Ministers of member nations of the Council of Europe, which includes of course, the United Kingdom, is one of 'a modern language for everyone by 1980'.<sup>1</sup> A mere smattering of knowledge of a language is no answer, the knowledge must be sufficient to be of demonstrable use to a child in accordance with the present utilitarian values of our culture.

This then, is the argument which we shall pursue with every means at our disposal: 1) to provide every member of Australian society with the linguistic and cultural prerequisites of participation in that society, 2) 'assimilation' of minorities is neither necessary nor desirable, since imperfect assimilation is always detrimental to participation, 3) the maintenance of native languages and cultures which facilitates the acquisition of the prerequisites of participation, 4) after lack of meaningful participation, in society, the greatest, and related problem is lack of identity. Language and culture maintenance can provide individuals with a sense of identity lacking among assimilated or native Anglo-Australians, and 5) Anglo-Australians could find a more secure sense of their



own identity if they were encouraged to acquire a second language and culture.

Our work is thus divided between establishing facts and making proposals, but the greater part of it will be spent on establishing, beyond any reasonable doubt, that participation in Australian society is directly and overwhelmingly related to possession of certain linguistic and cultural prerequisites of participation, and in so doing, we will see that assimilation is, for many, a myth. We will then observe, still in the factual realm, that present educational policies and practices are doing little to provide these prerequisites to those who need them most. On entering the realm of an alternative policy, our work will be one of relying upon the opinion of authorities who have experience of these matters in Australia and other societies. This consultation will indicate that our proposals are universally and unanimously endorsed by linguistic and educational authorities, though not as yet by politicians and administrators and the general public, towards whom this work is ultimately directed.

In view of these considerations, can we claim any measure of originality for the present work? The contribution of the political scientist is not to make new discoveries in any of the fields of human experience the politics of which he is investigating. Our contribution will not have been to produce any new information or scientific insights, but simply to assemble existing information into a coherent set of political alternatives, and it is that which is done here, to provide an alternative to the present policy. Public policy cannot solve those human problems that are basically

moral, such as those stemming from lack of purpose or identity, or prejudice, but it can do much to aid the individual in his steps towards solving them.

FOOTNOTES

1. See W.D. Halls, Foreign Languages and Education in Western Europe, (London : Harrap, 1970).

P A R T   I :   DEFINITIONS AND  
CONCEPTUALISATIONS

## CHAPTER I

### LANGUAGE, SOCIETY, CULTURE AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP

If we consider societies in general, and the lives that individuals live within them, we are entitled to ask whether there are any prerequisites that an individual person must possess in order to participate in that society, or, to take the same question from a different point of view, any prerequisites that societies demand of the individuals living within them in order to maintain themselves?

Intuitively, it seems clear that an ability to communicate with the other members of a society would be an essential prerequisite for social life, and thus we must examine first of all the role or function of language for both individual and society.

#### 'Functions' in Society

Our attention has been drawn by a number of writers to the fact that language is much more than simply a transparent medium of communication. It is necessary, therefore, to consider a number of different functions of language in the process of social life. Those writers who have devoted attention to this question, which has been called the sociology of language, have hypothesised a number of 'functions' of language.

But first we must consider some important objections which have been made both to the concept of function and the type of

explanation that is based upon this concept.

Functionalism has been defined as a theory in which the explanation of persistent social items is sought in terms of the contribution made to the on-going process of the society of which the social item may be part, viz. its 'function' for that whole which may be an organism, a machine, or a human society.

In the social sciences, the founders of this approach are generally recognized as having been the anthropologists, Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, who were in turn, particularly the former, influenced by Durkheim, though in a broader sense their functionalist theories are in the stream of nineteenth-century organicism, or the view that societies not only resemble but actually are organisms, a view chiefly associated with Spencer, but popular since the time of the ancient Greeks. Radcliffe-Brown acknowledged this continuity when he wrote:

"The concept of function applied to human societies is based on an analogy between social life and organic life."<sup>1</sup>

The recognition of the analogy and some of its implications is not new. In the nineteenth century this analogy and the concept of function, appeared frequently in social philosophy and sociology. The first systematic formulation of the concept as applying to the strictly scientific study of society was probably that of Durkheim in 1895.

Durkheim sought to explain the stability of society, notably in The Elementary Forms of Religious Life,<sup>2</sup> where he postulated a 'collective representation' or 'shared idea' as the basic unit of

culture, occurring unconsciously in the minds of members of a society and shaping their thoughts and actions accordingly, as for example in such ideas as space, time, and logical order. These representations then have the function of maintaining the solidarity of the group, but sometimes they persist long after the disappearance of the function that was initially served.

Radcliffe-Brown developed upon this theory of Durkheim's (though substituting the term 'social' for 'cultural') that social phenomena are explainable in terms of their contributions to the solidarity of the group, and that cultural institutions, for example funeral ceremonies, have a function of holding a social structure together.

Malinowski's approach was also functionalist, but with the difference that functions are contributions, not to a social structure, but to a culture. He stressed the interrelatedness of all parts of a culture, and the way in which a culture shapes individual motivations and needs, and the way in which these react back and affect the culture. He wrote:

"the functional view of culture insists therefore, upon the principle that in every type of civilisation, every custom, material object, idea and belief, fulfils some vital function".<sup>3</sup>

Of the two accounts, Radcliffe-Brown's is possibly the more fully developed. As a society is like an organism, living and functioning, it has a structure which endures.

"The social life of a community is here defined as the functioning of the social structure. The function of any recurrent activity, such as the punishment of a crime or of a funeral ceremony, is the part it

plays in the social life as a whole and therefore the contribution which it makes to structural continuity".<sup>4</sup>

To be explicit, this is in just the same way as the stomach has the function for the organism of breaking down food protein into a form in which they can be distributed by the blood-stream to the tissues, in Radcliffe-Brown's famous example.

Not only has functionalism continued in anthropological use, but it has been taken over by writers in other fields of social theory, and to such an extent that it remains still the major and dominant method of explanation in sociology, though many other modes of social explanation have been proposed.

Moreover, functional analysis has been adopted in other branches of social enquiry: in psychology, in geography, in demography, in the study of individual languages and the sociology of language.

Although this approach is obviously attractive, it is subject to a number of difficulties in its concepts and in its application, particularly if we are going to identify the 'functions' of language for society.

Firstly, how valid is the assumption that society is 'like an organism'? Admittedly societies do tend to persist over time, but can we assume the occurrence of a life-cycle, and, in addition, states of health or disease? Furthermore, what is 'society'? 'Society' is a very vague term which can be taken to mean anything from a primitive non-literate people to a modern industrial state or even to the whole of mankind.

Consulting A Dictionary of Sociology we find that human society



is defined as

'The total world of human beings, who cannot exist independently of each other, and who in their interactions develop edifices of culture ...' 5

It is not always easy to identify societies in practice. In Northern Ireland for example, do we have one or two societies? Similarly, in Belgium, it is realistic to regard the Flemish and the Walloon peoples as forming one 'society', while in the case of Australia, can the Aborigines be legitimately regarded as part of Australian society? In order to have a realistic appreciation of the significance of this problem, we must first know a great deal more about the ways in which interactions between people take place. In the meantime, we will concentrate on the concept of society in the sense of 'nation-state', assuming for the moment that it is co-terminous with 'society', and that it is like an organism to the extent that it has continuity over time.

It is very difficult to think of a society that has actually 'died'. Radcliffe-Brown has stated that societies do not die, 'they change their structural type'.

'...while an organism that is attacked by a virulent disease will react thereto and, if its reaction fails, will die, a society that is thrown into a condition of functional disunity or inconsistency ... will not die ... but will struggle towards some sort of eunomia, some kind of social health, and may, in the course of this, change its structural type.' 6

That which constitutes a change of structural type is likely to be a matter for speculation; nowhere is there in one society a complete change, which is impossible for continuity is essential to a system, and nowhere is there to be found a completely static society for

all societies have a degree of continuity. What is most likely to be happening is a continued state of change within changes, each change marking off one state by a greater or lesser degree from the previous one.

Since virtually all societies survive in some form or another, it seems that almost everything can be said to contribute to survival, and a search for 'vital or necessary functions' is likely to prove fruitless. In fact, in 'survival' it is possible to find a category so wide and shallow as to be empty. In this connection Hempel<sup>7</sup> observes that one can reach the conclusion that suicide can be functional, not because it has adaptive (survival) value but because it has adjustive value for the organism in that it is a release from intolerable suffering. In this way drug addiction may be found to be functional since it reduces tension, even though it may ultimately result in death. Similarly, in a given society, the use of a language may be found to promote both 'good' and 'bad' adjustments. Thus, the use of the term function must always be qualified in terms of 'functional for which system in which ways'. But having made this qualification, it becomes apparent that we have, in the functional approach, if not a theory, then a potentially insightful procedure or model to help us to understand how certain phenomena such as language, may serve to maintain a society, or even to have enabled and encouraged the establishment of a society. Of course, a society may have developed at a more rapid pace than the language in which it finds its expression, and this we shall also take into account.

Thus, it is legitimate, indeed necessary, that we must try

to identify functions of language (and languages), in any given society, providing it is understood that those functions may not be confined to 'good' adjustments (for they may equally as well lead to 'bad' adjustments or dysfunctions to use the term of Merton<sup>8</sup>), in a society, or indeed, within an individual or a group.<sup>9</sup>

Those writers who have concerned themselves with the question of the functions of language have tended to do so from one of two points or view: either the functions of language for the individual, or, the functions of language for the group or society. It is necessary that both points of view be considered.

#### The Functions of Language for the Individual and for Society

M.A.K. Halliday<sup>10</sup> has identified eight different "models" of language in the experience of a child. Halliday takes the view that the conceptions of language-use held by adults are nearly always too simple, so that it is more helpful to speak of a child's 'models' of language which emphasise the many different dimensions of his linguistic experience. These models, as will become clear, are functions performed by language for the individual, as both child and adult.

The first is the instrumental model, or the use of language to 'get things done'. Success in this most basic use of language does not depend on sentence structure or grammar, but it can provide for a basic control by an individual of his environment.

The second model of language proposed by Halliday is the

regulatory model. This refers to the use of language to regulate the behaviour of others. Language is used by parents, for example, to regulate the behaviour of children, as has been shown by the work of Bernstein<sup>11</sup> and also Turner.<sup>12</sup> A mother who has found that her child has carried an unpaid-for object out of a supermarket may employ one of a number of controls : You mustn't take things that don't belong to you (the ownership institution), or, that was very naughty (disapproval), or, if you do that again I'll smack you (threat of reprisal), or, you'll make Mummy unhappy if you do that (emotional blackmail).

Thirdly, there is the interaction model. The interaction of a person with other people is maintain linguistically (as indeed are permanent relationships), through familiarity, through the peer group, or through the conferral, recognition or denial of status.

Fourthly, there is that which Halliday calls the personal model of language. This refers to the awareness of a person of the capacity of language to express his own individuality, and this in turn reinforces and shapes this individuality. Without language, a child could not have a concept of 'self', nor could he have a concept of the 'non-self', or environment.

Thus fifthly, the individual has a heuristic model of language, derived from his knowledge of how language has enabled him to explore his environment, and one that is far wider and deeper than that of his immediate experience.

Sixthly, there is the imaginative model, which is concerned not with the real world, but with the feelings of an individual about

how the world could be. The imaginative function is exercised from an early age, through the use of words like story, make up and pretend, and so language is vitally important to a person's imaginative life; in fact, without language, there could probably be no imaginative life.

The seventh model is the representation model, whereby language is recognized as the means of communicating not about things but about abstractions, or propositions, which is a very commonly recognized function, and in adult life, tends to be the dominant one.

The eighth and final model of language proposed by Halliday is the ritual model. This is the function of language in showing, for example, how well one was brought up, in the same way that table-manners do.

Thus, Halliday gives a comprehensive account of the functions of language for the individual, based on observation, speculation and experimental work, carried out by himself and by others, in particular, Bernstein. These functions confer well with those defined by Sapir. Sapir wrote of the capacity of language to discover for an individual meanings far beyond the range of his immediate experience. For example, a man who has never seen more than a single elephant in his whole life can speak without the slightest hesitation of ten elephants or a million elephants or a herd of elephants, or of elephants walking two by two or three by three, or of generations of elephants, in other words, language provides a powerful capability for making representations and therefore of providing new areas of experience for an individual.

Language also offers for the individual not only a reference to experience, but a moulding, an interpreting, and a discovery of experience.

In his account of the functions of language, Sapir<sup>13</sup> takes a wider perspective than Halliday, though basically starting from the point of view, viz., that of the individual.

Language is of course the medium of communication, but it is also Sapir notes, a vocal actualization of a tendency to see realities symbolically, since thought is hardly possible without the symbolic organisation of language. Indeed, language is defined by Sapir as a symbolic system for handling meanings and references and thus permitting communication and many other activities.

Secondly, language is a powerful force of socialization, probably the most powerful. This is not to say simply that social interaction is scarcely possible without language, but that the fact of common speech serves as a peculiarly potent symbol of the social solidarity of those who speak the language. The solidarity of not only a nation, or a political entity, but also of much smaller groups such as students, trade unionists, social classes, and particularly, of families is created and preserved through peculiar and distinct uses of language. Sapir notes that to say that 'He talks like us' is equivalent to saying 'He is one of us'.

There is another sense in which language is an agent of socialization, and that is in the establishment of rapport between members of a physical group. This is through the caressing or reassuring quality of speech, as in small talk, and is quite distinct

from its function of communicating messages, being instead a communication of feelings.

Language has a vital function in accumulating and transmitting culture. 'Culture' is a very complex entity, as we shall see presently, but if we take it for the moment as a body of knowledge, techniques, values, memories and mythologies shared within a society, then obviously, without the medium of language, the culture of a given society could not survive from one generation to another, even in the most primitive of societies. Moreover, the individual discovers culture, and his relation to it, through his use of language, regardless of whether that culture is his by birth or not.

The third major function of language that Sapir identifies is that it is the most potent single known factor for the growth of individuality, notwithstanding its socializing capacities. Personality is indicated and expressed through speech and in many different ways : through voice, through phonetic speech patterns, through the relative speed and smoothness of articulation, through sentence construction and vocabulary, and through linguistic response to social environment. All of these indicators not only permit, but necessarily entail, unique expressions of individuality. But not only is individuality expressed through a person's use of language, but also a declaration of that person's place in society.

Sapir thus sees language as an instrument used wittingly and unwittingly by both the individual and by society, in a complex interactive process. Halliday's 'models' of language use may easily be absorbed into Sapir's scheme of language functioning, since both

accept a similar position insofar as that communication is seen as only one of a number of functions; however, Sapir is more concerned to relate language to society as well as to the individual.

An alternative account of the functions of language is that given by Hertzler.<sup>14</sup> Hertzler recognizes the fundamental role of language in social life, and notes the same functions of language for the individual. With regard to functions for society, Hertzler identifies several distinct kinds of effect on social organization : centripetal or centrifugal, which is in reality similar to the distinction made by Sapir between the two effects of promoting both socialization and individuality.

Hertzler observes that language can function as both cause and effect in the integration or disintegration of groups. Common language brings people together, in space and time, but it is never the sole determinant in the cohesion of groups, as noted by Sapir and also Weber. Language when shared creates a "coming to terms" within a group, and a "consciousness of kind" or group identity. Common language provides a ready, universal and infallible badge of cultural similarity, identifying and classifying its speaker in terms of nationality, region, social class, or level of education. In this way, language serves a centripetal function with regard to social organisation.

But language can obviously have the opposite effect as well of acting in a centrifugal manner. Language encourages the identification of a group, and by so doing, promotes a sense of difference from those outside the group, or other groups. Hertzler notes that



while language is always prominent among the divisive factors in human relations, such as nationalism, industrial competition, ideology, ethnocentrism, race and religion, it is also functionally interrelated with these factors.

Though we may recognize the basic validity of Hertzler's distinction between centripetal and centrifugal functions of language for society the problem remains as to how to show which type of effect may come to predominate in any given situation, and this Hertzler is, perhaps not surprisingly, disinclined to do in any general way. Another account of the function of language for the individual and for society and the interrelatedness of these two distinct areas of functioning, is that given by Le Page.<sup>15</sup>

Considering the individual, Le Page notes that language first of all is acquired by a person from his speech-community and this ability enables that person to gain full membership of his community and to contribute his responses to that community in such a manner that they will be recognized and in turn responded to. He can thus identify himself with and become part of a larger unit, making his contribution to its resources and drawing upon its resources. The need for identification with others is basic to man : "most of us crave for speech with our fellow man in the same way that we crave for love".<sup>16</sup>

The second function of language for the individual as identified by Le Page is that language allows the individual greater possibilities of self-expression than he would have without it. Every individual is driven to find and express the over-all pattern

of his own existence, and of all of the various ways of articulating himself, speech is one of the most important. Le Page sees every individual as suffering a tension caused by his uniqueness : he must articulate himself but it must be in such a way as to engender a response from the society in which he lives. The more unique he is, the stranger his idiom will be, and therefore the lesser the likelihood that his idiom will bring a response from his society. This is the problem of every artist, but also of every individual.

The third function of language for the individual is to provide a tool for the exploration and analysis of his own conceptual processes. But it is a two-edged tool, for not only does it help us to order our thoughts, but it also imposes upon us the thought-pattern of the community both present and past, as embodied in the grammar and lexicon of our language.

Fourthly, language is a means of communicating giving us access to the experience of others so that, according to their degree of linguistic command, we may explore and understand their thoughts, desires and fears.

In all of these functions we must note that language, as the organiser and mediator of experience, must respond to two distinct and conflicting demands of its user : inventiveness and communicability. In this respect it resembles morality, insofar as that it must mediate between the needs and demands of the individual, and those of the social organisation.

On the basis of these observations, Le Page considers the role or function of language in the life of societies, specifically

those which have been called 'newly independent'. Common language is an expression of a community of interests among a people, yet often misunderstandings concerning the role of language in society arise from the converse supposition that possession of a common language will necessarily give rise to an identity of interests among a people. Common language can impede as well as facilitate common understanding, as has often been the case between British and Americans, or Austrians and Germans. In the expression 'I get on well with so-and-so because he speaks my language', the essential ingredient is not language in the literal sense, but in the metaphorical sense of a community of interests, a common stock or cultural responses, that is to say, a compatability at the cultural level.

Language functions in society in many other areas besides the cultural. The first of these to be considered by Le Page is government and law. Democracy necessarily presupposes a common language in which the continuing dialogue between citizens and their elected representatives can take place. However, in many nations today, this condition is not met. In India, the Philippines, and Malaysia, the business of government is effectively carried on in English, yet in each case, the vast majority of the population are non-English speaking. Under such circumstances, a special role develops for a bilingual person who acts as a necessary and invaluable go-between, perhaps a lawyer or a civil servant, or a professional contact-man. Thus in multilingual societies, lawyers, civil servants and contact-men come to fill a special, if perhaps undesirable, role in society, based on functional need. We should be inclined to add that although such roles, and the persons who fill them, are from the point of

view of the national development essentially non-productive, they are none-the-less essential to the functioning of the social process. Certainly, we must agree that whenever the language of government and law differs from that of the mass of the people, economic, agricultural and industrial development is made much more difficult at both the planning stage and the administration stage. Linguistic diversity acts as a brake on economic development under these circumstances, whilst bilingualism is the obvious yet difficult solution.

A rather important implication for government in a multi-lingual community is the question of the political expression of governmental aspiration by linguistic minorities. Where these are denied expression through linguistic handicap, it is reasonable to expect these demands to be articulated outside the political arena, and this situation generally proves fatal to a democracy, as indeed it did for example in the abortive secession of Biafra from Nigeria.

Education is the second area of language function considered by Le Page. Mass education is a popular demand made in most societies today, especially in Asia and Africa, and springing not so much from demands for enlightenment, as from a desire to remove the economic disadvantage caused by lack of literacy. Literacy is most easily obtained in the vernacular and although this has often been recommended as an appropriate education policy,<sup>17</sup> this proposition is one that must be questioned when applied to the newly-emergent nations. Many children have reported no difficulty in switching from one language used at school to another used at home. Moreover, this recommendation for education policy neglects two vital functions for education in newly emergent societies. The first is the

development of a sense of common purpose and common identity even among people of diverse culture and race, as has been done for example, with some success in the United States. The second is the role of education in promoting rapid economic growth, often in the face of a population explosion and immanent starvation. The languages of science and technology are of course the international languages, the cost of translation of which into a vernacular forms an additional burden.

Education in science and technology is thus best served when instruction in those disciplines takes place in one of the major international languages. When education is linguistically fragmented, we note that this fragmentation reproduces itself in a fragmented scientific and technological understanding. Education which is given in one of the international languages, which may happen not to be the native-tongue of the student, may have its costs in alienation from parents and locality, as well as many other costs, to which no easy solution can be found. It is obvious that language plays a vital role in education, determining not only the content of general education, but also the rate of economic progress, the sense of cultural identity, and the nature of human adjustment between those who have and those who have not received such an education. It is clear that education must equip future citizens of a nation with sufficient level of competence in one of the international languages as to permit that nation or society to avail itself of the technology the benefits of which its citizens will surely demand. In most cases this will presuppose a bilingual education.

Religion is the third area of the functioning of language in

society considered by Le Page. Religious movements have, in their spread across the world, often brought in their train major linguistic changes. However, once established, they have also provided the centres of social and linguistic conservatism. Sometimes language becomes part of a basically religious conflict. Conflict may be between different religions, or between degrees of orthodoxy, or between a generation which clings to religion and another which does not. Sometimes, as in the 1963 coup d'état in South Vietnam, the conflict is between a ruling class which has adopted the language and religion of the former colonial power and the followers of an indigenous language and faith.

The spread of Hinduism and Buddhism has, for example, brought many loan-words of Indian origin, but not the languages except for ritual or court use. The Indian languages owe their dissemination more to emigration. Christianity, on the other hand, took with it, through mission-school education, the Spanish, Portuguese, French Dutch and English languages, with profound, and sometimes permanent impact.

Among the Chinese settled throughout South-East Asia, the traditional Chinese beliefs - a mixture of Confucianism, Taoism, and ancestor-worship - are sustained as long as the children attend Chinese-medium schools, but are rapidly eroded by the Christian mission schools which teach French or English.

In Israel, notes Le Page, Judaism and Jewish nationalism have served to provide the basis of a state whose polyglot citizens have come from all parts of the world and whose national consciousness is

fostered through the Hebrew language.

As a linguistic influence, the chief rival to Christianity is Islam. Classical Arabic, the language of the Koran, is used in prayers and scriptural readings throughout the Muslim world from Indonesia to West Africa, and has undoubtedly played a role in forming the climate of moral and social conservatism found in these societies.

The final area of social life in which the role of language is examined by Le Page is culture. In his particular sense of this term Le Page refers specifically to the problem of the creative writer in many societies who must suffer a tension between his needs as an individual and those of the society in which he lives; a tension which may manifest itself in the choice of either an international language with its potentially universal audience or a regional or national language with its highly localised audience, and, we might add, an unsophisticated and possibly prejudiced audience. The creative artist may well find himself accused of disloyalty to his language, or to his people, and thus be forced into exile, or into a state of cultural exile within his own societies. Language can therefore, serve to unify or disunify at the cultural level. But there is another aspect of the cultural life in multilingual societies which is often overlooked. This lies in the fact that each of the various groups possesses, by virtue of its language, a private world in which to retreat. Though this closed and private world may excite a sense of fear and suspicion among outsiders, the fact that discussions are not overheard may tend to calm an otherwise tense situation. Conversely, in monolingual societies, the absence of the privacy afforded by linguistic difference, may cause tense situations to

become even more inflamed, thus affirming Hertzler's view that language(s) can have either a centripetal or a centrifugal function in society, and sometimes both.

To these various observations on the function of language in society as identified by Le Page, we must add some additional remarks. Firstly, the many distinct areas of functioning may in reality become merged. For example, "getting ahead" economically and politically may involve command of a certain language, but it may also involve conversion to an accepted religion, whilst at the same time, all of these various factors may present themselves to a young indigenous inhabitant as an attractive kind of 'packaged deal' which he may think of as 'modernization', e.g. Christianity, business success, political influence, and the English language, combined with the values and attitudes of a certain culture.<sup>18</sup>

Secondly, the distinct functions, and problems, of language in society are not confined to multilingual societies. The role of language in monolingual societies is equally as problematic and demanding of study, although for various reasons they have often been neglected. A reason given by Giglioli for this is that

'... sociologists have considered language as an omnipresent and invariant feature of every society, thereby failing to see its causal influence on social action'.<sup>19</sup>

Thirdly, the matter of language loyalty, although discussed briefly by Le Page, is probably the most important single determinant of language-affected behaviour in society. Certainly, from the point of view of the individual, his language, when threatened, becomes a source of the most violent feelings of loyalty, trust and conversely,



betrayal. Language lies at the basis not only, as we have seen, of the organisation of every society, but also of the personality of every individual. In response to the question 'What are the roots of language loyalty?' Weinreich states that:

'One would suspect that a rudiment of this feeling is natural in every user of language, because the inescapable emotional involvement with one's mother-tongue as one learned it in childhood makes any deviation seem repugnant.'<sup>20</sup>

### The Nature of Interaction in Society

In the light of this foregoing discussion, it is now clear that when we begin to think about 'society' in a general way, many of the activities in which individuals are involved, may turn out to perform a 'function' that maintains society in a particular form, even though they may be quite unaware of this effect. As well as activities there are the ways in which the activities themselves are carried out, that may have a tendency to maintain society. 'Language' may be among those activities, or forms of activities, which have repercussions of a powerful nature for any society.

Certainly, language has many functions for the individual - communicating with others, achieving ends, learning rules, defining individuality, finding a place in the social order, and indulging in symbolic or representational thinking - and without which, we may expect an individual to be unable to enter into society and find a meaningful life. Thus in an extreme sense, some knowledge of a language, any language, is a prerequisite for participation in any human interaction other than physical ones of the most rudimentary

kind. Even the most basic kind of activity presupposes some representational thinking, and this must necessarily involve the use of language.

When we have a number of people who speak the same language it is possible to have a society, the members of which have come to depend upon one another. While the exact nature of the forces holding human societies together have never been precisely established, it is apparent that language must be among the most fundamental of them. Where people speak a common language, we can assume, if we accept Sapir, that they have had imposed upon them a common moulding, interpreting and discovery of experience. In addition, the fact of common language binds the members of that society together with a sense of solidarity, and it encourages and enforces a transmission to future generations of certain beliefs held within that society.

But language can also be a divisive force in society, particularly where an attempt is made to fashion out a new society from groups of people who speak different languages. Under these circumstances, it is a prerequisite both for the society that its members speak, if not as natives then as a second language, the language of that society, and for an individual to speak that language, in order to participate in the affairs of the society.

But having made this initial observation, it is necessary that we understand much more about the nature of societies.

A society can only be understood within the context of its culture, and a culture is always embodied in a language. Culture

alone does not explain society, nor any of its parts. We must understand first something of the individual members of a society, and then the social system<sup>21</sup> of which they are part, before we can hypothesise about the nature of the culture. There are three distinct levels of interaction in society:

- (i) the individual
- (ii) the social system
- (iii) the culture system, of which language is the basis.

A recognition of these three levels of interaction, and causality, and their interrelatedness, is essential to the understanding of social life.

#### (1) The Action Level

If we begin at the level of human actions and the contexts within which they are performed, it is clear that, as Popper asserts

'... our actions are to a very large extent explicable in terms of the situation in which they occur ... (but) they are never fully explicable in terms of the situation alone'.<sup>22</sup>

For example, a man's behaviour in crossing a street is explicable in terms of the situation of the traffic movement, combined with the desire, consciously felt or not, to avoid death or injury; this latter presumption being given in the explanation. This has been called by Popper 'the logic of the situation'. The idea that much behaviour is rational and can be explained with reference to the situation in which it takes place is widely accepted. However, if the concept of rationality is extended further than that of the immediately conscious, so that the subjective factors become part of the situation, then the concept becomes much more powerful.

A very good account of the situational logic of Popper extended in this way is that given by Jarvie.<sup>23</sup> Popper's rationality is restricted to the rationality of the factual situation, whilst Jarvie's includes the facts of belief. Jarvie gives the example of an intelligent Martian who finds himself puzzled by behaviour in the 'Bible belt' of the United States during a severe drought whereby people apply themselves not to cloud-seeding or the building and installation of water pumps but to the making of strange utterances, falling on their knees and crying in unison in a hot gloomy building. But once the facts of their situation became known, that is, including the facts of belief, their actions become perfectly intelligible as rational, or meaningful.<sup>24</sup>

Thus an explanation of the workings of society must extend from the level of action to that of perception. Dorothy Emmet has written that :

'The world as grasped in sense perception is a highly simplified and selective perspective. Its function in the first instance is practical, to provide the organism with clues for its orientation to its environment'.<sup>25</sup>

Any other situation would be difficult to imagine. It is the collective experience of a group of people who communicate with one another which is the source of perceptions, values, and ideas (meanings, or 'worlds taken for granted')

Social knowledge must embrace subjective states in individuals. It must concern itself with their expectations,<sup>26</sup> beliefs, information, perceptions, values, and moral principles.

Sometimes a moral quality has been attributed to all human

actions. Winch, following Wittgenstein, states that all moral behaviour is that which is rule-governed, and that 'all behaviour which is meaningful (therefore all specifically human behaviour) is ipso facto rule-governed'<sup>27</sup> ... and therefore moral.

A discussion of the relationship between morality and action is to be found in Emmet's Rules, Roles and Relations,<sup>28</sup> in which the author argues, after a highly plausible demonstration of the fallacy of an alleged autonomy of ethics and that morality can play a very creative part in the formulation of human actions, especially in the creation of new roles in society. The main point of Emmet's argument is thus: that role performance has its disciplinary, repressive form of morality or obligation, as well as the open and creative form of role performance which is necessary for the emergence of new roles, in, for example, the way in which Florence Nightingale developed the new role of trained professional nurse. But most roles are not new ones, they have been traditionally defined and evolved and we are concerned to see how they are related to language and culture. The social structure, as that term is generally defined, is an enduring arrangement of roles. A society functions or 'goes on' when individuals go about their daily lives and by so doing activate the roles established within the social structure. Individuals fulfil roles because roles are rooted in human values - the desire to serve, to achieve, to play a part, or merely to exist - the values are often inherited from earlier generations, passed on in the stream of culture, and built into individual personalities, or sometimes newly evolved.

An individual has remarkably little control over the value structure around which his personality functions from his earliest

years he is equipped with a set of values, from which emerges desired states of affairs, valued ways of acting and objects for achievement, and valued beliefs about the world and about himself. This value structure gives meaning to life, indeed to the world, for it is a 'world taken for granted',<sup>29</sup> and no individual could act without reference to it. It is a disposition, or an orientation, with which most individuals are socialised to a greater or lesser degree into the ways of society, through their parents and through early contacts. Though this mental structure may harden at an early age, it cannot be said to cease changing throughout a lifetime. Large numbers of people may share a substantially similar value structure, because while it changes only slowly, it does assimilate and is assimilated by other people's value structures through constant contact. Therefore, in a society, we often find that a majority of people will share some values identifiably similar in nature, and this 'edifice', to use Mitchell's term, is culture. Culture gives meaning and direction to the lives of its members. As a social system functions, or goes on, the activities that occur are related to the culture, in the sense that they are motivated by values and are directed towards the gratification of values. This is not to say that the social system 'thinks' and decides to gratify these values, but that the interrelated activities of the networks of relations institutionalised in the society come naturally to be directed towards particular areas of activity. As a particular value comes to be gratified, it can be said that a social system is functioning for the satisfaction of that value.

Thus a social system has a structure or edifice of values,

beliefs, and knowledge and the activities of that structure are structured or disposed as the social system functions around its value structure. The value structure resides in the minds of individuals but it endures far beyond the lives of individuals, being passed on from generation to generation, not without change, but yet remarkably intact, so that a very high degree of continuity exists in it. It persists in this way because it has integration, and is a system, so that it is often called a cultural system. The many constituent values exist in relationship to others, and therefore a certain resistance to change is a characteristic. Moreover, there is also a 'natural selection' of values, in such a way that ones which enhance the integration of values persist and ones that are disintegrative tend to be rejected.

The world is perceived by an individual in terms of concepts which form a system and which correspond very highly to the nature of the value structure: in other words, people tend to see things in a culturally determined way, that is, the way their cultural experience dictates.<sup>30</sup>

'Culture thus transforms individuals into organized groups and gives these an almost indefinite continuity.'<sup>31</sup>

Interaction takes many forms, but it generally presupposes the medium of language. It is difficult to underestimate the importance of language to the study of society, and it is often taken for granted. Culture exists within a language and its symbols, and from there it derives much of its form and content. Perhaps it is the continuity of language which explains the continuity of culture. Language gives form to culture, and as Duncan has written :

'... emotions, like ideas, must be given form, for it is only through form of some kind that transmission of a culture can take place. Such cultural transmission is an enactment, a drama in which the community is born and will be born again'. <sup>32</sup>

Communication, which implies language, is thus a necessary condition for human organisation. <sup>33</sup>

In this way, it is apparent that even when we consider individuals independently of society, we inevitably find that those individuals act and react always within contexts of much that is shared, or social: rules, institutions, roles, relations, beliefs, ideas, perceptions, language and thought itself. That which is social is shared to a greater or lesser extent, so that there are confronting and involving all individuals many intersecting and co-existing social organisations of different kinds, but generally combining to form a single society.

## (2) The Social System Level

It is now commonplace to view society as a system, sharing characteristics in common with other kinds of systems. This particular kind of conceptualisation is known as 'systems theory'.

Systems theory or systems analysis is based upon an analogy between society and an engineering or a biological system. This approach may best be appreciated in one of its more thoroughgoing versions, that of Miller. <sup>34</sup> Miller's statement of systems theory as applied to societies has been the subject of some rigorous criticism by Buck <sup>35</sup> whose article is worth examining since the observations which it makes apply to all versions of systems theories, and not exclusively that of Miller. General systems theory 'finds



formal identities between various physical systems, the cell, the organ, the individual, the small group of species, and the society', whilst ... 'Every system has its environment, and all living systems are open systems with inputs and outputs, and tend to maintain steady states'.<sup>36</sup> From the initial statement of his 'identity', Miller proceeds to a detailed step-by-step analogy between organism and society, which he sets out in tabloid form.<sup>37</sup>

Here we may notice that a society is a higher level of system than the living organism whose components, such as skin, eyes, and central nervous system, are comparable, according to Miller, with the components of society, for example, courts, steel mills, and armies. The conclusion is then drawn that ... 'There are undoubtedly many similarities and possibly many cross-level formal identities in the phenomena of life'.<sup>38</sup>

Buck rigorously attacks Miller's use of the terms 'formal identity', and 'system', by arguing that by 'formal identity' Miller can mean nothing more than 'analogy'. The questions which can then be raised against the use of the analogies are those of the 'So What?' variety. The notion of formal identity is presumed by Buck to mean that when the two systems exhibit a structural identity then a general description can apply to both.

Turning to the concept of system - defined by Miller as 'a bounded region of space-time, in which component parts are associated in functional relationships'<sup>39</sup> - it may be observed that such apparently unrelated heterogeneous phenomena as organisms, juries, societies, and a biological species (salmon) are all to be regarded as bounded

formal identities between various physical systems, the cell, the organ, the individual, the small group of species, and the society', whilst ... 'Every system has its environment, and all living systems are open systems with inputs and outputs, and tend to maintain steady states'.<sup>36</sup> From the initial statement of his 'identity', Miller proceeds to a detailed step-by-step analogy between organism and society, which he sets out in tabloid form.<sup>37</sup>

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Turning to the concept of system - defined by Miller as 'a bounded region of space-time, in which component parts are associated in functional relationships'<sup>39</sup> - it may be observed that such apparently unrelated heterogeneous phenomena as organisms, juries, societies, and a biological species (salmon) are all to be regarded as bounded

systems. To assert within these terms, that an object is a 'system' is to make a statement incapable of falsification. This does not, however, invalidate the role of the system concept in helping us to understand societies. It is obvious that human societies exhibit a high degree of persistence through time and across generations, though Miller has been ill-advised, as Buck has shown, to try and elevate this to the level of a theory. Accepting then, that human societies cannot be explained merely by identifying them with other systems in some general systems theory, it is nonetheless apparent that societies are a kind of 'system', if, by that term we mean, to take Nettl's definition

'... first of all a whole, not merely an aggregate; secondly, that it consists of objects or elements in interaction not merely in random contact; thirdly, that the system is open, i.e. the behaviour of the system depends on integral as well as external factors arising from the relationship with the environment ...' 40

Nettl's definition highlights three outstanding characteristics of the systemic nature of societies; their wholeness, their internal interaction, and their integration, to which may be added a fourth: the persistence of their structures. Unfortunately, Nettl's discussion does not take the discussion much further, because it implicitly makes the same faulty assumption as Miller that systems theory is in fact a genuine theory and not a model or approach to explanation.

It is clear therefore that the statement that 'societies are x, y, z, because they are systems' is not a valid explanation, since it is devoid of explanatory power. Societies are systems, possessing

systemic characteristics, but this is a description and not an explanation.

An alternative statement of the system conception of society is that of Wiseman.

The term 'system' implies an orderly patterning in the parts of the system; e.g. a structure; the elements of the system must be specified. More exactly, 'social system' implies the existence of interrelated acts of people: 'structure' involves some degree of regularity or recurrence in these acts. <sup>41</sup>

The structure of a social system is generally defined in terms of roles, where the role being taken as an institutionally defined pattern of behaviour. The important constituent of social life when we take a long term view, is not the individual but the recurrent pattern of behaviour abstracted from many individuals in a particular position, in other words, their roles.

Novelists have often perceived that the building-blocks of social organisations are roles rather than the individual actors who perform them. Dorothy Emmet cites the description by Sartre of the behaviour of a waiter ...

'He is playing, he is amusing himself. But what is he playing? We need not watch long before we can explain it: he is playing at being a waiter in a cafe.'

Moreover ...

A grocer who dreams is offensive to the buyer, because such a grocer is not wholly a grocer. Society demands that he limit himself to his function as a grocer, just as the soldier at <sup>42</sup> attention makes himself into a soldier-thing.

Inseparable from the concept of role is that of norm or value.

In Wiseman's definition :

'The term norm implies obligations to other people. Norms exist between groups as well as between individuals. They may include legal prescriptions, regulations, and informal understandings.' <sup>43</sup>

Norms are intimately related to the values of individuals and societies. These values have their own enduring nature and can be seen as a structure in either individual or society. Values underpin society in the sense that they are a constituent of culture, and this is an observation that has often been made, as, for example, in Wiseman <sup>44</sup> 'Values are derived from, or are part of "culture"', or in Parsons <sup>45</sup> 'Cultural value patterns provide the most direct link between social and cultural systems'.

Another definition underlines the same point:

'In the broadest sense, behavioural scientists may usefully think of values as abstract and perduring standards which are held by an individual and/or specified group to transcend the impulses of the moment and ephemeral situations.' <sup>46</sup>

Political occurrences and events are stated and defined within the terms of action and interaction, and of the social setting of which they are part, and which is itself a whole or system. Since societies are systems, an event in one part of the system will have repercussions in other parts. For example, a change in the organisation of the family as an institution will be transmitted to the institutions of church and school. In an infinite number of other ways, the systemic nature of society as a network of relations is progressively revealed, as attention is focused upon them. When we seek to explain a social phenomenon, therefore, it is essential that we pursue the subject from the action level to the social setting of actions, viz.,

the social system in which actions are often found to perform functions for the social system through their unintended consequences, which may be different from those envisaged by the individual actor.

Although the system view of society cannot properly be called a theory,<sup>47</sup> it does provide a concept or model of society which does permit the formulation of certain kinds of questions not otherwise possible, in asking, for example, the 'function' of a particular institution or practice for a society as a whole (or system) quite apart from the effects that institution has on individuals and other institutions, and also in, for example, the positing of system 'goals' and 'integration', for societies. However, explanation must be taken further than the social system.

For an explanation to proceed from the level of the social system, it is necessary that some concept of culture be invoked.

Anthropologists have long recognized that

'If ... society is taken to be an organised set of individuals with a given way of life, culture is that way of life.'<sup>48</sup>

### (3) The Cultural Level

The assumption that society can only be explained within cultural terms, is basic to anthropology, but is far from general acceptance by social scientists, many of whom have consciously or unconsciously predicated their work on the assumption that culture may be taken as a given. The definition of culture provided by Kluckhohn has been very widely accepted.

'Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and

transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning influences upon further action.' 49

There are two characteristics of culture as defined here which need underlining, firstly, its systemic nature, and secondly, its pervasiveness, and both will need to be explored. There are also several observations to be made. Culture is the complete record of a society, which embraces both culture in the anthropological sense, and high culture, by which latter term is usually meant achievements of an artistic and creative nature. Secondly, it is useful to distinguish culture from civilisation, in such a way that the latter term is reserved for material and tangible manifestation of culture, whereas culture may be used for the purely mental phenomenon. This commonly made distinction is one somewhat simpler to express than the similar sociological one whereby civilisation comprises the sum total of human 'means' and culture consists of the collectivity of human 'ends'.

By this qualified definition, then, culture has become an abstract concept, representing a body of ideas, and it has thus become an entity incapable of direct observation. Culture implies a totality of these mental states and activities, and therefore it is not logically or empirically possible for any one individual, or group of individuals, to grasp this totality. Of course, one can recognize a culture through its outward manifestations, which are in fact the only way of knowing a culture. It is quite possible to

record one's impressions of a culture, and these may be based upon sound and accurate observation of such outward manifestations. In these conditions any proposition about culture is necessarily an hypothesis, and yet one that we are entitled to judge as plausible to a greater or lesser degree in accordance with other observations and interpretations of the manifestations of that culture\*. In the final analysis, explanations and predictions concerning society must come to rely upon such cultural interpretations, subjective, partial and incomplete though they must necessarily be.

However, in practice, the task is not so entirely unscientific, as there are broadly based cultural forms and movements that can be specified. This is because in any society, the total of conscious activity must always lead to the accumulation of memories and perceptions, or meanings, in the minds of its members so that a distinct but highly interrelated stream of thought activity develops through time with a past and a projection into the future, and which provides interpretations of the world and experience within it, that is to say, bestowing meaning upon it. A society thus comes to reflect its culture ...

'society', like 'culture', is an 'emergent' with properties not altogether derivable from a summation of even a fullest kind of knowledge of the parts. <sup>50</sup>

Because thoughts tend to impinge upon other thoughts, every thought or concept must be culturally conditioned to a greater or lesser

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\* There are for example such collections of cultural interpretations as Peter Coleman (ed.), Australian Civilizations, A Symposium, (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1962), and A.L. McLeod, (ed.), The Pattern of Australian Culture, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, and Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963).



degree. In what logical sense can one speak of a 'culture'? It is possible to recognize a culture through a sense of identity adhering to the form and stream or movement of thought in any society, as ...

'It falls into patterns, of regularities of form and style and significance.' <sup>51</sup>

The basic components of culture are values. Kroeber<sup>52</sup> includes values among the defining 'qualities' of his culture concept - or desired states-of-affairs and beliefs which flow from them. Culture as defined thus must include all of the thought activity taking place within a given area, generally bounded geographically, linguistically, and in group affinity. With the development of a collection of values concomitant with the historical development of a society, a distinctive culture may be identified.

If the basic and irreducible units of a culture are its values, what is the relationship existing between individual values? Kroeber and Kluckhohn have insisted that a culture must always be regarded as a system of values. Values in individual lives must be such as to permit a harmonious integration, though this is not to say that there cannot be internal stress and tension. Modern Western culture contains a conflict between the values of material success and Christian humility, but could not contain the conflict between the sanctity of human life and for example the Japanese value of honourable death. Clearly some kind of modus vivendi tends to be worked out over time, through the manner in which a culture impinges upon its individual recipients. A possible explanation for this phenomenon has been suggested by the theory of cognitive dissonance of Festinger.<sup>53</sup>

The experiments carried out in the investigations into this theory show that individuals tend to abolish or reduce those items of information which stand in contradictory relationships, or those which cause cognitive dissonance. The experiments show that this is done by intellectual reconciliation, or by suppressing or forgetting information that does not fit well with an existing cognitive structure.

Not only is there a simplification of information as received by individuals, '... the world', to recall Emmet, 'as grasped in sense perception is a highly simplified and selective perspective...', but at the level of values, the tensions created in individuals and groups by the simultaneous tenure of conflicting values tend obviously to become discomforting and ultimately insupportable.

On account of the perpetual tendency among human individuals to continually simplify and integrate the inherited ideas and values around which their lives are conducted, it may be seen that the distinctive culture which these values will form in any society becomes simplified and more integrated with the passing of time, and yet more complex and sophisticated with the handling of the problems of the exterior world of an individual and his society. Thus a cultural system emerges, as a set of interrelated, mutually supporting and reinforcing ideas and values, persisting through time and transmitted from generation to generation, interpreting the world and shaping individual responses to it through meanings. It may embrace ideologies, which are the verbalised expressions by individuals of their cultural system. Cultural change has an apparent autonomy, being changed by individuals, but never in expected ways, and never

without far-reaching repercussions within a cultural system.<sup>54</sup>

A cultural system is in a state of constant change; it is changed by individuals and events, though never in planned or predicted ways. Because a culture is a system, a change in one of its parts must necessarily have repercussions in other parts, on account of its interrelated nature.<sup>55</sup> Every single act, event, and communicated thought impinges upon a culture - local, national or super-national - in a way that leaves a mark and potentially a change, so that a culture is no longer quite the same. For example, English morality could not be the same after the novels of D.H. Lawrence, nor could race relations in Britain after the public speeches of Enoch Powell, nor American foreign policy after the disaster at Pearl Harbour. In each of these examples the basic system of ideas and values defined here as a culture, has been affected in one part and therefore in the whole.

Some remarks must be made upon the nature of boundaries in culture. One cannot see a culture, only its manifestations. Rousseau's charming concept of the noble savage is mythical and impossible, for a human individual totally untouched by human civilization (or culture), would not be human. Wherever human beings have lived in groups culture has developed as they have been shaped by their experience. A cultural system is always identifiable with a group or community, and wherever that group or community has had contact with other groups, the cultural system has been touched, not damaged but modified. Cultures are individuated, but in different ways, and not according to any single rule, just as the number of

'things' in a room may be calculated variously, in accordance with different criteria of 'thing'. For practical purposes, however, the criteria for individuating 'culture' are generally derived from political units.

Numerous writers have devoted attention to the changes brought upon the culture of relatively isolated communities: for example, Moorehead's The Fatal Impact. The identification of culture at its boundaries, therefore, is not a matter of finding fixed indications, but a relative one which involves the purposes for which we are making an investigation. One may meaningfully speak of Western culture, more specifically of its Australian variation (thereby excluding the Australian Aborigines' non-Western culture), of the Tasmanian variant of the Australian culture, which is distinguishable from the Queensland variant of the Australian culture, with regard to, for example, the cultural perception of Aborigines, since in Queensland Aborigines are seen as an important part of the rural work force and in Tasmania where the Aborigines were wiped out a century ago, the perception of them is laden with guilt. Another example is the cultures of Australia and New Zealand, which although similar in many ways, differ profoundly with regard to their respective indigenous peoples, a cultural difference which manifests itself both on the level of individuals and the social system in various ways.

#### Differences of Language and Culture in Society

Cultural systems are recognized through comparison with other cultures, and in respect of their preponderant ideas and values. In practice, that which could be a difficult problem resolves itself

fairly easily, for just as a cultural system may be identified variously, as can also a society, the most frequently found manifestations of these two phenomena are those coalesced with state or nation. It is most useful to recognize nation, society and culture as interrelated entities, as for example in 'Japanese nation', 'Japanese society', and 'Japanese cultural system'. This is not to say that the liaison is not often filled with badly fitting groups, such as a 'French-Canadian cultural system' with a 'Canadian nation', or a 'Bantu society' within a 'South African nation'. Sub-groups within societies and nations present no methodological problem for the cultural explanation, indeed they provide a substantiation of the overwhelming need for such an approach. The key to cultural identity is of course the evidence, within a group, of commonly held ideas, values, attitudes and perceptions, or shared meanings. It is when society and language and culture are not co-terminus that conflict appears to be the inevitable outcome. In Belgium, for example, it has been felt necessary to legislate for a physical separation of the two language groups, to the extent that, under the laws of 1963, there was created a linguistic frontier across the nation, dividing it into two separate unilingual areas, with the exception of Brussels and its surrounding areas which was given a special bilingual status.<sup>56</sup>

By contrast, Switzerland is the classical example of a plurilingual state. Since the adoption of the federal constitution of 1848, German, French and Italian have each enjoyed the status of official languages, despite the disproportionate number of speakers of each. In 1960, of a population of 5.4 million, 74 per cent of Swiss nationals claimed German as their mother-tongue, while French

and Italian claimed 20 and 4 per cent respectively.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps because of experience in working out these arrangements, and also because of the presence of countries of a language contiguous with the respective groups, Switzerland has seen relative linguistic peace. The Canadian Report attributed this state of harmony to

'... respect by the majority group for the rights of the minorities.'<sup>58</sup>

In a third country, Finland, since 1919 the two languages of Finnish and Swedish have been declared national languages, so that citizens may employ either one of them in their dealings with administrative authorities, even though the proportion of Swedish native-speakers had declined by 1960 to 7 per cent or 331,000 of a total population of 4,100,000. It has been stated, of Finland, that

'Though it was not always so, language rarely seems to be a subject of serious discord in Finland nowadays.'<sup>59</sup>

Among the European nations, language conflicts seems today to be mostly taking place in Belgium rather than the other two nations. Of this the Canadian Report stated

'The language problem in Belgium is exacerbated by the fact that social, economic and religious differences coincide with the linguistic division.'

Thus there is in any nation always the danger of Balkanisation, as the writers of the Canadian Report call it - the formation, or strengthening, of forces pushing towards the rise of separate societies within a nation, bounded perhaps geographically, economically, socially and culturally, along sectarian lines, but above all, linguistically. These various dimensions of human behaviour coalesce into clearly defined groups because of the systemic nature

of social interaction. Such a situation is not always drawn along lines of linguistic division, as for example in Northern Ireland,<sup>60</sup> but language differences are, as we have seen from the foregoing concepts, among the most powerful of centripetal functions known to society, and exceeded only by race and religion in potential explosiveness. At the same time, it is not possible to attribute the role of initial cause to any one of the factors of religion, race, language or culture. It is, however, important that we study the relationship between these phenomena, particular the latter two.

When we look at social life, we are led to wonder as to which of the two phenomena, language or culture, has primacy. Both together form an interactive situation, in which one system serves the other, and vice versa, in a mutually interdependent manner, for these

... two aspects of social behaviour - social structure and cultural pattern - cannot exist independently of one another in human society: society and culture are mutually dependent, and social relations are carried, or exemplified, only in cultural behaviour ...<sup>61</sup>

Having regard to their relationship, it is unlikely that this complex interaction will ever be visualized other than on a speculative basis. However, the interest of scholars in several different fields has, in the last several decades, come to focus upon it.

Traditionally, Christian missionaries who went out to study primitive peoples for the purposes of conversion, have discovered that language was always the key to culture. One such missionary who was in Papua-New Guinea at the same time as the famous anthropologist Malinowski, was Dr. Bromilow, who wrote:

If learning the language could be accomplished

only by laborious observations and prolonged experience and effort, still more difficult was it to learn the ideas and beliefs of the Dobuans themselves. The missionary must not remain an outsider, he must get the point of view of the people he desires to influence; yet the difficulties he meets in attempting to penetrate the inner life and thought of those he dwells amongst are subtle and persistent. <sup>62</sup>

Thus the difficulties of understanding indigenous cultures compelled both missionaries and anthropologists to a recognition of the fact that language is a necessary condition for the existence of culture. Language is a part of culture because it is patterned in nature, it is restricted to the human species, and because languages are learned, and not transmitted genetically. Although race and language are frequently connected historically, there is no evidence to believe that languages are transmitted genetically.<sup>63</sup> Languages are transmitted culturally, as a meaningful system of symbols.

There are philosophical differences over the nature of language, upon which the answers to a number of other questions hang. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, philosophers argued about the relationship between the mind (if there is such a thing, as many empiricists would deny) and the external world.

The empiricists' view of Locke, Berkeley and Hume, as opposed to the rationalist view of Descartes, has influenced the development of modern psychology. It has found expression in the view of many psychologists, that human knowledge and human behaviour are wholly determined by the environment, there being no radical difference between human beings and other animals, or indeed between animals and machines, and which may be described in terms of physical laws.<sup>64</sup>



Behaviourism, as this school of psychology is known, has been the predominating influence on the development of linguistics.

Although established by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835),<sup>65</sup> and further developed by Ferdinand de Saussure,<sup>66</sup> early in the present century, linguistics has only in the last few decades acquired the status of an accepted science.

In the United States, Boas<sup>67</sup> formed a critique of existing generalisations about language in the light of evidence acquired from his study of the languages of the American Indians. His student, Sapir, published, in 1921, his book Language<sup>68</sup> which remains a most useful analysis of the language/culture relationship and to which we shall return.

Far more influential on students of linguistics, however, was Bloomfield, who, unlike Sapir, focussed attention on language as an autonomous structure, rather than on the social and cultural context of a language.

In Europe a number of distinct schools of linguistics have been identified - the Geneva school, the Copenhagen school, the Prague school, and the London school - though all are according to Hymes, part of the general movement known as structuralism, the centre of attention of which being the structure of language.<sup>69</sup>

Recently, the behaviourist assumptions of Bloomfield's theory of language which has predominated in Anglo-American linguistics, has been under attack by Chomsky.<sup>70</sup> Chomsky rejects the physicalist and determinist view of language, in favour of the view that we are endowed with a number of specific faculties (to which we give the

name 'mind') which play a crucial role in our acquisition of knowledge and enable us to act as free agents, undetermined (though not necessarily unaffected) by external stimuli in the environment.

Chomsky's questioning of the philosophical assumptions of modern linguistics has reawakened interest in philosophical conceptions of the mind, and the nature of thought. Vital though this debate is to linguistics, the centre of interest of linguistics has remained language per se, without its social content, as Giglioli has noted.<sup>71</sup>

Moreover, the sociology of language has long been a neglected area with the general scope of sociology. Giglioli<sup>72</sup> finds two reasons for this neglect: first, the early sociological recognition of the essential role of language in society which assumed that since it was a necessary condition for social organisation, language could be taken as a constant. The second reason is implicit in Saussure's<sup>73</sup> famous distinction between langue and parole (language and speech) which, by emphasising the commonly shared and accepted nature of the grammatical rules at the basis of langue, has attracted attention away from the highly dynamic role of parole in human interaction.

However, there is a further reason why language has been a neglected area of study by sociologists: it stems from a lack of interest in the concept of the culture context of social life. It should be absurd that one should ever need to justify a cultural approach to the study of society, yet the great majority of social and political scientists in Australia have, like their counterparts in Britain and America, shown a strange adherence to an assumption that the social reality contained within their subject is to be investigated in accordance with the same procedures as those used in

understanding the physical world, even in the face of the gravest kinds of objections raised by philosophers,<sup>74</sup> historians,<sup>75</sup> and more recently, sociologists.<sup>76</sup>

At its crudest level, social enquiry predicated on this assumption has recognized only the objective, external dimensions of human behaviour, while closing out as irrelevant any evidence of the inner mental states and qualities which necessarily attend all actions, and by so doing, has excluded the element which is essential to the explanation of all political interactions, namely, the cultural context in which they take place.

We have discussed already the question of why a concept of culture is essential to the giving of a social explanation, and noted elsewhere<sup>77</sup> some of the shortcomings of non-cultural explanations. At its briefest, however, the statement by Mannheim of the position cannot be improved upon:

The social process is contained in the very structure of cultural life itself so that it is never for one moment free from its influence.<sup>78</sup>

Probably because it is the kind of internal, mental and imaginative phenomenon that positivistic social scientists are conceptually undisposed to handle, that language and culture have been largely denied their central position in social explanation in the English speaking world in particular.

For a discussion of the relationship between language and culture, it is neither to linguistics nor to sociology that we must turn, but rather to the sociology of language, as initiated by Boas<sup>79</sup> and developed by Sapir<sup>80</sup> and later again by Benjamin L. Whorf.<sup>81</sup>

A 'Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis' has been so named by Hoijer,<sup>82</sup> but the general thesis has a long tradition in Europe from Herder through von Humboldt to Cassirer, Weisberger and Trier,<sup>83</sup> where it has been known as the Weltanschauung problem.

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is, in essence, that 'language is a guide to social reality',<sup>84</sup> in Sapir's phrase, or, in the words of Whorf,

'... the linguistic system (in other words, the grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas'.<sup>85</sup>

In Sapir's Selected Writings<sup>86</sup> we find the hypothesis expanded in a number of ways. Firstly, language is a 'perfect symbolic system' for handling 'of all references and meanings that a given culture is capable of'.<sup>87</sup> Secondly, 'the content of every culture is expressible in its language',<sup>88</sup> and while new cultural experiences frequently cause additions to a language, the additions are never arbitrary. Thirdly, 'once the form of a language is established it can discover meanings for its speakers which are not simply traceable to the given quality of experience itself but must be explained to a large extent as the projection of potential meanings into the raw material of experience'.<sup>89</sup> Fourthly, 'language has the power to analyse experience into theoretically dissociable elements ... which enables human beings to transcend the immediately given in their individual experiences and to join in a larger common understanding'.<sup>90</sup> While fifthly, 'this common understanding constitutes culture'.<sup>91</sup> Thus our interpretations of experience are provided for us within the context of our culture and through the use of the language in

which it is embodied. All cultures provide representations of reality, which are necessarily interpretations, and they are carried in the concepts and categories embodied within the grammar of a language. Above all, language is not, in the view of adherents of this hypothesis, simply a technique of communication.

There are a number of observations which must be made in connection with this hypothesis. It must be noted, outstandingly, that language and culture are by no means always corresponding. In the Chapter 'Language, Culture and Race' in his earlier work Language,<sup>92</sup> Sapir notes that racial, linguistic and cultural characteristics often do not correspond, in that races intermix, while languages and cultures do not do anything resembling the same extent. Moreover, a single language may be shared by distinct races and cultures, as within the United States. 'Totally unrelated languages share in one culture, closely related languages - even a single language - belong to distinct culture spheres',<sup>93</sup> and as an example of this, the various distinct language and culture groupings of the American Indians are cited. Within the context of England and America, despite a common language, Sapir notes that geographical, political and economic factors work against the development of a common culture. Language and culture are related ... 'Language and our thought-grooves are inextricably interwoven', writes Sapir,<sup>94</sup> ... but we cannot ... 'believe that culture and language are in any true sense causally related'. Yet surely this is to undervalue the status of language in culture. One linguist has written that

'The Englishman visiting the United States  
for the first time feels more at home in

a few hours than he does after a lifetime of visits to France, however well he may know the French language.' <sup>95</sup>

Language and culture are inter-dependent, but we cannot assume any direct functional or causal relation to hold. Hoijer notes <sup>96</sup> that linguistic barriers to inter-cultural understanding can be exaggerated, while at the same time, no culture is wholly isolated, self-contained and unique. Indeed, cultures are in constant interaction, in a process by which meanings are transmitted through language. Whorf <sup>97</sup> observed that the connection between language and culture is not direct, but that language often shares the same cultural meanings with non-linguistic behaviour.

Though it is easy to underestimate the importance of non-linguistic factors to culture, we must weigh this against the observation made by Sapir that language is a powerful force of socialisation, and probably the most important. <sup>98</sup> This is not merely to say that social intercourse is facilitated by language, but rather that a common form of speech serves as a peculiarly potent symbol of the social solidarity of those who speak that language. Subtle peculiarities of speech, not only between language but within a language, serve as an almost infallible instrument for identifying groups, and for establishing and maintaining boundaries. The non-communicative aspects of language have recently become a source of scholarly interest among sociologists of language, but still remain in the initial stages of study. We must note here, however, that language is always a means of cultural transmission, not the sole one, but certainly the most powerful, through the socialization of young people into the established culture of their society, as we have

noted earlier.

Some interesting objections to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis have been raised by Hymes.<sup>99</sup>

The first of these is that to assume, as Sapir and Whorf have done, that differences in language shape or interact with differences in world view, is to assume that the functional role of language in relation to world view is everywhere equivalent or even identical. But languages, like other cultural phenomena, vary in the degree and nature of their integration into society and culture. Moreover, this functional relativity of languages applies also to monolingual situations.

Secondly, there are differences in the degree of impact upon consciousness of the metaphysical assumptions contained in a language. Hymes gives notes that a Bengali using English as a fourth language for certain purposes of commerce is not likely to be deeply influenced in his world view by the syntax of English. This situation obtains also for the monolingual person in the same way as it does for the multilingual: the impact of his language upon his world view is a highly variable, and indeed, individual matter.

Thirdly, if we accept that language does have the effect of categorizing experience, it does not do so in the abstract. This effect cannot be separated from its role as an instrument of communication. Moreover, one language may very well offer many alternative ways of categorizing the same experience.

Another writer who has raised objections to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is the philosopher Max Black.

'The chief trouble is to find out what is being claimed.'

wrote Black in his article entitled 'Some Troubles with Whorfianism',<sup>100</sup>

If we assume that the claim of Whorf may be stated as 'Language or some aspects of it, partially controls mental life', then a number of conceptual difficulties arise.

Firstly, if we substitute speech for language which we are entitled to do, separate consideration must be given to the roles of lexicon, syntax and semantics when considering the social effects of language.

Secondly, 'mental life' is a rather vague concept which may be taken to mean a number of different activities such as perception, concept-formation, or states of mind such as commitment to principles, presuppositions or metaphysics, including 'world view'.

Thirdly, the relationship between these two vague concepts of 'language' and 'mental life' is equally elusive. Usually it is seen as a kind of 'master-slave' relationship running from left to right, though the exact kind of determination is not stated, being substituted for by some weak and unspecified concept of 'correlation' or 'reflection'.

Because of its essential vagueness, the proposition is open to many interpretations

'... an enterprising Ph.D. candidate would have no trouble producing at least 108 versions of Whorfianism'.<sup>101</sup>

The most plausible versions of Whorfianism, in Black's view, would be those which try to find in speech (rather than language)



some clue as to the mental life or 'shared culture of a group'.

Continuing in Black's words

'The difficulty here is to convert an inoffensive banality about the connections between speech patterns and style of life into something sufficiently precise to generate falsifiable empirical hypotheses.'<sup>102</sup>

The obvious point of any attempt to apply the Whorf hypothesis is a degeneration into blank tautology: speech influences culture, of course, because speech is part of culture. After considering how essentially obvious it is that some languages contain words that others do not, i.e. 'lexical items' corresponding to the 'special interests of Eskimos, acoustic engineers, or logicians', Black then exclaims that

'Given the extraordinary elusiveness of the cluster of ideas I have called Whorfianism, it is hard to account for their perennial allure.'<sup>103</sup>

The admission by Black of the allure of 'Whorfianism' or that which others prefer to call the 'Sapir-Whorf hypothesis', is of course a reflection of the weakness of Black argument. Black has unjustifiably constricted the concepts of 'language' and 'culture' to the point where a putative relationship is impossible to sustain. But language is not speech or speech patterns: it is much more. It is clear that Black has failed to recognize that language is a system of symbols but in fact he equates a terminology - acoustic engineering, or that of logic - with a genuine language, Eskimo. A mere terminology does not influence culture, but this was never claimed by either Sapir or Whorf.

Similarly with culture, Black has made an unjustifiable substitution of this term with another - mental life. Culture is

not to be substituted for with mental life. Culture has a rather specific meaning, which Black has not acknowledged. The violence done by Black to this concept is shown by the use of the words

'... the mental life of the individual or  
the shared culture of the group'. 104

There are two points to be made here: firstly, an individual's mental life may not necessarily be equated with culture, and secondly, the confusion is reflected in the adjective 'shared' being applied to the noun 'culture'. How could culture be otherwise but shared?

In short, we must conclude that as defined by Black the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of the terms of that proposition is unacceptable. It can only be reasserted that language and culture are related, profoundly and intimately, and together they shape the kind of participation that an individual or a group may have in society.<sup>105</sup>

It must be noted that these objections are more in the nature of qualifications to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis rather than refutations of it. It must be accepted that language does have a variable role in cultures, and, obviously a culture may be embodied in more than one language, as for example, in Switzerland, or even the culture of the Western industrialized nations, as distinct from that of the non-West. Hymes is right to point to the minimal nature of the impact of the world view contained in the English language on a Bengali to whom it is a fourth language used for business. But, that impact must none the less not be ignored. To assess it, one would need to make a comparative study of this particular Bengali in relation to a Bengali who is not in possession of this ability. With regard to Hyme's third point, we must accept that communication

and the use of conceptual categories is always highly interrelated, and does not exist in an abstract sense. But they can be conceptualised for the purposes of discussion and enquiry. Even though many alternative categorizations of experience are possible within the same language, the observer is likely to find that a given meaning often overwhelmingly predominates. When this happens, we have a culturally accepted meaning, which may be distinct from that assigned to the same word in another culture.

Take, for example, 'class'. There is a profound, subjective and qualitative difference in the respective meanings attached to the word 'class' by an Englishman, an American and an Australian. Attempting to measure 'class' in these three countries assumes that there is a common thing to measure, and that it can be measured. But cultural difference, arising from unique and individual cultures, defies measurement. Requiring people to rank occupations in terms of status, as Congalton<sup>106</sup> has done, is possible. But this procedure does not recognize variations in the intensity or quality of feeling. It is doubtful whether people in Australia would feel impelled to describe those of a lower class as 'dirty' or 'filthy', as people in Britain are known to do.<sup>107</sup> Nor would they feel the same degree of moral condemnation of poor people as some Americans do, in referring to them as 'bums'. These differences in qualities of feeling and meaning are not merely incidental, they are fundamental, if one wishes to understand these three highly similar but none the less unique cultures. Class is a case, par excellence, of where a cultural item which is subjective in nature, is often assumed to have separate, non-cultural existence. Davies and Encel appear to

have fallen into this error when they write

Many of the arguments about the importance  
of class derive from confusion, ignorant  
or wilful, about the meaning of the concept  
... 108 (my emphasis)

Class is of course all of its many meanings, and they vary widely, even though language has in this case obscured the difference.

Sometimes an apparently similar word, or a word from the same root, is used in different languages, for example, (again) classe (French), classe (Italian), or Klasse (German). But the same word may have very different meanings in other languages, if taken literally, and that it is imperative always to note the subtleties of its local usage, for these may be of the most crucial importance.

If Hymes' third objection to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis then may be taken as injunction not to underestimate the social usage side of language and culture, then it is well taken. Language does shape thought, but language is also a tool and as such is capable of an infinite variety of different employments.

A most succinct statement of this general position in regard to language and culture is that given by Halls

'... language conditions our attitudes,  
sets bounds upon our thinking, generates  
our values, and decides the quality of our  
life.' 109

In Canada there has been a great deal of discussion about the implications arising from differences of language and culture, which has been stimulated by the existence of the French Canadian linguistic and cultural minority. In 1963 a Royal Commission was set up to enquire into these problems in a very thorough manner.

The Report that emerged contained some interesting commentary on the relationship between language and culture, not only in Canada, but in some other societies as well. The writers of the Report conceptualised the relationship between language and culture as 'a vital link'

'... language is in the first place an essential expression of a culture in the full sense of the word; from the intellectual standpoint language is certainly the most typical expression of culture. As a means of communication, language is the natural vehicle for a host of other elements of culture. It fulfils this function in many ways. Not only does it convey the notions and modes of expression which are part of a culture, it is also the means by which a cultural group discovers and assimilates new elements originating outside it ...' 110

It is impossible to assign primacy of causality to one or the other of language and culture. We must accept the position implicit in the statement above that this relationship is an interactive one in which both parts influence the other, which is of course, to reject the 'master-slave' concept suggested by Black. Moreover, language not only has the function or effect of maintaining culture, but also of introducing new elements which will cause it to change.

#### The Cultural Bases of Democracy

Looking at the same set of phenomena from a different point of view, political scientists have sometimes asked themselves: what are the cultural bases of democracy?

In 1956, the American Political Science Review published a symposium on the cultural prerequisites for democracy, (one part of which we have also observed, viz. the interpretation by Plamenatz

of the lack of democracy in Spain).<sup>111</sup>

Democracy they define as a system of government which implies free discussion, popular election of governors, and an availability of alternative choices of government. Clearly it is representative democracy which they have in mind, rather than some concept of direct democracy which is popular in some intellectual circles, in which the people rule themselves directly, voting presumably, on every single issue of government. The practicability of such a procedure in a large scale state need not detain us here. The conception of democracy held by the contributors to this particular symposium is probably best described by the term liberal representative democracy. They are united in the view that such a form of government depends for its survival upon cultural attitudes or mores. The mores are

'... those modes of thought as well as behaviour by which men live and institutions are sustained. The mores are those elements of a culture which are regarded as essential for survival or the society itself.'<sup>112</sup>

Does every member of a society have to accept and possess these mores? The proportion or distribution of persons holding such mores is not specified other than in the necessarily vague terms of proportions of a population. The implied problem of which mores and how to develop and sustain them is the one which has occupied the attention of the three contributors.

Griffith has stressed the importance of common religious faiths to the survival of such democracies.

'It is my hypothesis that the Christian and Hebrew faiths constitute a powerful matrix, a common denominator of those attitudes most

essential to a flourishing democracy.'<sup>113</sup>

Mere knowledge, he advises, can provide no basis for deciding whether conduct is right or wrong. Mores must be related to absolutes, and these should preferably be religious in nature. The presence of these two religious faiths, the Hebrew and the Christian, provide a belief in individualism which is countered by a sense of civic or social obligation. Lack of respect for the individual was, Griffith argues, responsible for the collapse of democratic institutions in Germany, Italy and Japan, and in their failure to take root in Russia. Not only is lack of respect for the individual related to the failure of democracy - is it a cause or a concomitant? - but also failure by individuals to participate.

'If such wide participation is lacking, or (if present) is largely self-centred, then greed, graft, negativism, materialism, sensualism will quickly erode the quality of civic life ...

Even more serious will be the gradual, insidious spread of that death-rattle of a society known as "anomie", the state of mind of a person who feels he has no stake in his state or community...' <sup>114</sup>

To this list of expected outcomes of the lack of participation, which does seem a trifle prim, we must add the other forms of participation from outside the 'rules of the game' that are now being increasingly prevalent: violence, terrorism, assassination, and the taking of hostages. There can be no difficulty in relating this kind of action to anomie felt by individuals or groups, who, through their anomie, have no stake in an existing set of political arrangements, or indeed, society. This is precisely the kind of situation which is becoming much more widely found in the years since Griffith wrote. The absence of religious faith, and one in the Judeo-Christian

tradition, may cause individuals to suffer anomie and fail in their right, and duty, to participate: this problem may be framed in a different way

'is, for example, the widespread pluralism of our society enough to assure responsible participation through the educational value of the satisfying experiences ...' 115

Pluralism does not preclude participation, but we must agree with Griffith that it does presuppose some educational development of individuals in the direction of meeting the needs, or prerequisites, of the democratic form of society. Education is thus vital to democracy, but it must also embrace moral values as well as scientific or factual education, in other words, it must be what many sociologists would now call socialisation. It is for this reason that Griffith comes to the conclusion that only religion can provide these values or mores at the level of "mass acceptance". It is hard to disagree that the values of the Judeo-Christian tradition do provide the cultural basis for democracy. But are these values exclusively the property of the Jewish and Christian religions? This we must dispute. But having made this reservation, it seems impossible to avoid the same conclusion as Griffith that anomie and lack of participation are deleterious to democracy. However, religious faith can no longer be safely assumed to guarantee to give meaning to lives filled with anomie, or to provide the means to participation, even if it were to provide the will. Indeed, there are too many examples of religious conflict attacking the bases of democracy to permit such a view. Plamenatz in his visualisation of the cultural prerequisites of democracy is concerned specifically with the 'ways of thinking and



feeling that encourage the democratic type of political system." Here, there is an analogy with the problem of mind-body relations, which presents similar problems to those who wish to investigate it. In the case of political systems, institutions can survive their cultural conditions, while those conditions can sometimes survive the institutions. In this case, both the 'body' and the 'soul' are mortal and neither is healthy without the other. From this analogy of Plamenatz's we can extract some further senses of the concept of political system and of culture. One is external, manifest, and capable of objective investigation, while the other, the culture, like mind, presents problems for those who would investigate it insofar as it is internal, subjective and not capable of direct investigation, since it is known only by its outward manifestations.

The democracies of the vast, modern, industrial states are not the same as that of Athens, and nor are its cultural conditions the same. However, in all of the large modern states, administrative problems and administrative methods have a great deal in common. Moreover, they presuppose certain conditions on the part of their citizens.

'A modern industrial state cannot function  
unless all its adult members are literate.'<sup>116</sup>

asserts Plamenatz. Unfortunately, we are given no hint as to what happens when a state cannot function, through lack of literacy. The use of this term, literate, implies of course, literate in the same language.

Rather than acceptance by a population of one or two common religious faiths, Plamenatz argues the case for respect for personal rights, privacy, independence, and respect for law, as cultural

prerequisites of democracy. Respect for law is distinct from a respect for authority, and is best when it is expressed through respect for a body of precise rules that preserve acquired liberties, which is known as constitutionalism. Great inequalities of wealth and opportunity can prevent the rise of democracy. These we may think of, in the terms of this present work, as barriers to participation. Plamenatz, however, takes a rather different view of participation to that of Griffith. The difficulty about Griffith's argument is that

'... in the modern world, it is not possible for the ordinary citizen to take more than a very small part in the business of government.' 117

There must always be, he argues against Griffith, a minority in government while the majority remain passive. It would be wrong, he argues, to call this minority in government an elite because that would be to misunderstand its function in a democracy. These people know how to make the system work and are therefore indispensable to keep it working. What is important and necessary in Plamenatz's view is that

'... there should be, among all section of the people, a considerable number willing to be active on behalf of the class, community, or profession they belong to.' 118

The politically active minority should include these people, and it should represent every class, community and profession or other group in the community, to some extent. What is more, it should be infinitely various, with competition between its members, and never united against the majority.

It is very important that the political system should produce

strong leaders, for there is always a danger that people will look for leaders outside the system, and these will be ones who can only make their power effective by weakening or destroying the system. It is difficult to see how one could disagree with Plamenatz in this assertion of the need for a system to be open to participation by leaders of powerful groups and to respond to the demands of these groups. Yet perhaps one should also consider the manner in which some leaders have come to power, by constitutional or quasi-constitutional means, and have then found it necessary or desirable to restrict or abolish a constitution.

A third contributor to the symposium, Pennock, gives less emphasis to the role of religion but more to that of economic and social conditions. With regard to German democracy in the 1930s, there would be general agreement among scholars that the prolonged depression and attendant unemployment, and a general sense of the failure of government to cope with the situation, was fundamental to explaining the lack of resistance on the part of democrats to the rise of Naziism. In the case of Fascist Italy, we find that extensive unemployment played a large part in the development of that particular regime. With regard to Griffith's case for the role of religion, Pennock observes that few students of the failure of democracy in Italy would ascribe it to a lack of religion. In the case of Russia, the failure of democracy to take root must surely be related first to illiteracy, lack of experience with free institutions, and the crisis produced by World War I.

Pennock sees as a prerequisite for democracy the presence of a widespread desire to be self-governing. Democracy cannot be

foistered upon a people who are unprepared for the responsibilities that it entails. These involve a willingness to compromise, a concern for righting injustice, and a preparedness to accept the rules of the game.

'Democracy is like a game: unless the participants adhere to the rules it fails of its purpose and will soon break down completely.' 119

But to this view of Pennock's that the participants in the game must adhere to the rules, we must add the observation that they must know what the rules are and that this is so cannot always be taken for granted. The conditions of participation within the rules of the game are not favourable when men have no leisure or time to reflect upon matters of government, or a ground by poverty to a level of mere subsistence.

Although cities have traditionally been the birthplaces of democracy, the pressures of living in the modern metropolis tend to destroy 'the sociological foundations of a healthy community'. Pennock here would equate 'health' with 'democracy'. But an unhealthy community would be composed of unhealthy individuals. The answer to the problem of individual unhappiness and anomie is to belong to a number of organisations or other sources of involvement.

'His quest for community and his sense of belonging must be satisfied pluralistically in order both to do justice to the varieties of personality and to prevent the formation of totalitarian sentiments and organisation.' 120

In this work we will argue, in agreement with Pennock, a case for individuals to have a sense of belonging in relation to a plurality of institutions. The ideal of assimilation to a monolithic

culture in a monolingual setting does engender anomie. The groupings of different language and culture within a society may well thus provide an answer. Migrants or indigenous peoples should be encouraged to keep alive their different languages and cultures, while those of the linguistic and cultural majority, should, through the education system, receive encouragement towards developing and sustaining an interest in a second language and culture. Moreover, this would have a beneficial effect on that characterisation of democracy which all three contributors stressed: viz. a sense of tolerance. Plamenatz quite correctly has observed that tolerance may be a product rather than a precondition of democracy, yet, at the same time, it must be recognized that even if a greater sense of tolerance does flow from the conspicuous success of democracy, a certain minimal amount of tolerance must be present before democracy can survive.

Though we might consider that their rather old-fashioned sense of the word 'democracy' is far from the ideals of the 1970s, it is still nonetheless one that is far from realisation among the nations that are commonly accepted as the 'liberal democracies'. However, their analysis of the failure of democracy to survive is a valid one. There must be a will among a majority that such a system of government should survive. For them to will it to survive, it must demonstrably serve their needs and aspirations, and this is best done through participation, either directly or indirectly. People must know how to operate the machine, and to make their demands of it in a language it understands. The culture prerequisite is not just one of 'the right values', it is also one of a knowledge of information, facts and techniques upon how to operate the machine.

A prerequisite of this cultural knowledge is, of course, competence in the language in which that culture is expressed.

It may well be that certain groups, in a multilingual situation, are using their monopoly of competence in a certain language to maintain their exclusive control over the instruments of government. This state of affairs is one which our Symposium participants, and indeed anyone, would agree to be one which threatens the survival of democracy.

It remains now for us to examine whether or not the linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation are met by all groups in Australian society, not only for the purposes of government, but for participation when 'democracy' is conceived in its wider sense of all of the public activities that take place. But let us first take a different example.

An Example : the Participation of the Spanish  
Linguistic and Cultural Minority in American  
Society

At this point it may be profitable to examine a study made of an actual situation, that of the Spanish language and culture in the Southwest of the United States, by Jane Macnab Christian and Chester C. Christian, Jr.,<sup>121</sup> which clearly highlights the relationship between language, culture and society.

The Spanish language, they observe, simultaneously preserves and is carried by a distinctive culture, and after nearly four centuries, the Spanish-speaking group in the Southwest of North America has maintained much of its original character, despite absorption into the United States over a century ago, when the Treaty

of Guadalupe-Hidalgo assigned the Mexican Cession to the United States in 1848.

English-speaking migrants flooded into the Southwest inundating the old settlers with a foreign language and culture. However, the migrants did not force the Spanish-speaking settlers to relinquish their language and culture nor did they mix with them or provide either the expectation of, or the facilities for, the acquisition of English. In this way Spanish persisted in the Southwest, spoken today by approximately three and a half million people, without efforts of language-maintenance or interference, but as the language of conquered, secondclass citizens. The strong persistence of Spanish has however been sustained by the close proximity of Mexico, and to the short-term immigration of millions of people from that country, usually without the skills or the motivation to acquire a new language. Moreover, cross-cultural contacts have been discouraged by both groups, and this lack of mutual acceptance and understanding between the Hispanos and the dominant 'Anglos' has inhibited the acquisition of English among the former.

Although the situation of the Spanish in the different states of the Southwest varies - in Arizona and California they have been better educated and economically stronger, in New Mexico they have been influential, in Colorado they have been segregated and discriminated against - a general picture of the participation of the group in the Southwest can be drawn.

There has never been a quota system controlling the immigration of Mexican citizens into the United States, observe the Christians.

This is not only a 'good neighbour' device but a means for South-western employers to obtain labour at a fraction of the cost of citizen labour and with few obligations concerning the safety and healthiness of working and living conditions. Hundreds of thousands of these Spanish-speaking workers with homes in the Southwest are forced to migrate to the north each spring to follow whatever crops may be harvested, returning home each autumn. In Texas one-third of these migrants have no formal education whatsoever, and only five percent have gone beyond elementary school, and almost all are functionally illiterate.<sup>122</sup>

Averaging 125 working days in 1960, a worker would have earned \$US 911, but real income would have become even lower because of the automation of harvesting, by which for example, the 6 percent of South Texas cotton which was machine picked in 1958, had become 75 percent in 1962.<sup>123</sup> The situation of the Spanish-speaking worker, who is a U.S. citizen, is now such that he must be given some form of economic rehabilitation if he is not to be a charge on the community, surviving on welfare assistance. Some moves are being made in this direction, but are 'as yet', in the words of the Christians, 'but drops in an ocean of need'.

The political, legal and judicial participation of Spanish-speakers is generally low. In an unpublished report to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Samora wrote:

'People of low socio-economic status without "purse, power or pull" are disadvantaged before the law. The Spanish-speaking fall into this category, but for them there must be added the dimension of ethnicity. There is some evidence to suggest that they suffer from police brutality, differential arrest and conviction patterns, and



exclusion from jury duty ...

The voting pattern and general political participation varies widely. In a few areas there is complete control of town and country; in other areas there is hardly any participation. ... In some areas there is evidence of barriers to the right to vote.' 124

In this context the Christians observe that in New Mexico, Spanish-speaking leaders have gained considerable concessions, while Arizona has always had segregated schools and a literacy-test for voting, which were abolished in California in 1931. Texas has no literacy-test for voting but has segregated schools, even though outlawed in different areas in some recent Supreme Court judgements.

Most discrimination never reaches the courts, and very few law enforcement, health, school or welfare officers have ever reached a workable level of communication in Spanish, we are advised.

With regard to religions, the Spanish-speaking are not unexpectedly identified closely with the Catholic Church, which they feel 'belongs' to them, and which is entirely Spanish-speaking in the parishes concerned. These proprietorial feelings may explain the lack of impact of the Church's avowed programme of acculturation into the Anglo-American language and way of life. In other language groups in other parts of the United States, the Catholic Church has tried to eliminate the particular language concerned. Lemaire reports<sup>125</sup> the unsuccessful attempts of some Irish-American bishops to eliminate French in New England in the interests of the national assimilation. In the context of the Spanish in the Southwest, the Church and its lay organisations have generally taken the view that Spanish-language maintenance is incompatible with the socio-economic

and civil advancement of its adherents.

The participation of the children of the Spanish-speaking minority has been beset by several problems which have persisted for generations and which continue into the present. The first of these is school segregation which, in the Southwest, closely parallels housing segregation. Many children who reach school age have no English at all, and attend segregated schools which have inferior facilities and teaching practices, and have consistently failed to teach the children good, literate English. In some states the years of school attendance, were even lower than for 'non-whites', i.e. Negroes, Asians and Indians. Moreover, literacy was beyond the realm of need or possibility for the children, who were often required for work in the fields, so that many Spanish-speakers with low attendance and high dropout rates, saw little use in continuing 'a meaningless struggle with education authorities', as the Christians described it, concluding that:

'Plainly, the Spanish language in the Southwest has developed unfortunate associations with low socio-economic status, lack of sanitation, widespread illiteracy, and ignorance. The educational system, until very recently, overwhelmingly discouraged its use, while at the same time failing to provide an adequate grounding in English, forcing the Spanish-speaking people to remain in a ghetto-like corner of Southwestern society and economy.' 126

On the basis of this quickly-sketched profile of the participation of Spanish-speaking people in American society, we are entitled to make some observations about the underlying cultures, Spanish and American, of which the respective languages are so much a part. The Christians do in fact draw the inescapable conclusions -

cultural conflict - and base it on their identification of the relevant features of the two cultures.

'Just as "anarchism" is the chief virtue and chief vice of Hispanic society, "order" is the chief virtue and chief vice of Anglo society. And just as "anarchism" can be associated with individuality, vitality, passion, integrity and freedom - or chaos, inefficiency, crime, violence, and injustice, so can "order" be associated with progress, efficiency, cleanliness, stability and justice - or unbecomingness, sterility, antisepsis, rigidity, and timidity. Each society tends to judge the other on the basis of the negative elements of its chief characteristic, of course, and its own by the positive elements."<sup>127</sup>

They note also, that the socio-cultural dynamics of the situation tend to reinforce it. That education is the key to the situation is obvious - specifically bilingual education - but so far has remained unavailable. It could transform a poor, depressed and ignorant group into participants in the American culture making a 'contribution which no other group on earth can make to us - a contribution which may enlarge and strengthen our potentialities.'<sup>128</sup>

A number of conclusions relevant to our study can be drawn from this example.

Firstly, that, as far as the Spanish-speakers of the United States are concerned, there is the strongest evidence to believe that culture is at the basis of their lives.

Secondly, we have the strongest vindication of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, that language and culture are intimately interacting such that language shapes thought.

Thirdly, that all of the functions attributed to language, for both individual and group, are found to hold in the case of this example.

Finally, we may conclude that although the Spanish-American situation does not exist in Australia, we are strongly encouraged in the belief that the foregoing analysis will be vindicated when applied to Australian society and its component groups.

Although we cannot yet specify the exact amount of competence in the English language, or precisely which cultural 'ideas and their attached values', that the Spanish of the South Western U.S.A. would need to participate in American society in a way that is comparable with other Americans, it seems clear that the relationship we have conceptualized is supported by the example of one group in the American society.

A final point is that, unlike the Christians, we do not need to describe or specify the natures of the cultures held by minorities in Australia. The attempt to specify a culture is at times, a risky enterprise, and vulnerable always to the charge that Major Thompson, the fictitious character of Daninos, faced whenever he thought he had really discovered something about the French: 'No, Major, France is not that'.<sup>129</sup> In fact, if we accept cultural differences as a reality, it is not necessary to know exactly what they are, since just the recognition of differences may explain differences of behaviour.

#### Some Propositions About Participation in Australian Society

On the basis of this foregoing discussion of the nature of language, culture and society, and their relationship, we are led to formulate some propositions about the Australian situation.

They are that

- (1) there are linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation in Australian society,
- (2) these prerequisites depend for their formation upon the education system, and
- (3) these prerequisites are most efficiently achieved in a situation where native languages and cultures are maintained.

In the remaining sections of this work, we will examine the evidence available in support or denial of these propositions. If the evidence available supports these propositions, and it will become clear that it does, then we are entitled to conclude that the conceptualisation here put forward is vindicated. However, our work must not stop at this point, because, if vindicated, then our conceptualisation will have implications for public policy and these must be stated in relation to the existing public policies.

# FOOTNOTES

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17. See Le Page, op. cit., p. 21.
18. In a discussion with the present writer, the African nationalist Mr. Eddison Zvobgo said that many Africans saw those of their race who wrote in French, notably Leopold Senghor, as "perfect little Frenchmen". Professor Ali Mazrui has also discussed this problem in Ali A. Mazrui, 'Racial Self-Reliance and Cultural Dependency : Nyerere and Amin in Comparative Perspective', Journal of International Affairs, vol. 27, no. 1, 1973, pp. 105-21, see particularly p. 107.
19. Pier Paolo Giglioli, 'Introduction', in Pier Paolo Giglioli (ed.), Language and Social Context, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 11.
20. Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact, Findings and Problems, (New York: Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, Number 1, 1953), pp. 99-100.
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     Dorothy Emmet, op. cit., p. 73.
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P A R T    I I    :    PROPOSITIONS



## CHAPTER 1

### THE PARTICIPATION OF MIGRANTS FROM NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY.

In this chapter we will examine the effect of differences of language and culture upon the nature and type of participation by people whose native-language is not English, or an Aboriginal tongue, in Australian society.

In speaking of Asian students, though the remark applies equally as well to European migrants, F. Campbell wrote:

"When an event in some area of intercultural contact prods the public mind to muse upon its causes, recourse is usually taken to that glib summary 'Language problems, ignorance and cultural barriers.'" <sup>1</sup>

However the temptation to take a glib view of the role of linguistic and cultural barriers to participation must be resisted. Participation varies greatly with individuals and with groups, while barriers are far more diverse in their degree of subtlety and persistence than any simplistic view which equates 'communication' with 'access' would allow. In fact, it may be objected that the differences between migrants of various nationalities which may be greater than with native-born Australians, effectively refutes the existence of such a group as this chapter proposes to discuss.

Dr. Smolicz<sup>2</sup> has drawn attention to the great diversity of

the peoples who have migrated to Australia since World War II.

In the decades between the two World Wars, it has been stated that Australia's population, excluding Aborigines, was 98 per cent British subject by birth,<sup>3</sup> so that Australia was one of the most British of all the dominions in the British Empire. Today, the non-British component has risen from two per cent to an estimated twenty per cent.<sup>4</sup>

This group is heterogeneous with respect to, firstly, notes Smolicz, the vastly different geographical regions of origin. Although Europe is one of the smallest continents, it is also one which is most highly differentiated internally, climatically, economically and culturally. In the great wave of over two million immigrants who arrived between 1947 and 1966, a quarter of a million came from north-western Europe, another quarter from eastern Europe, while almost half a million came from southern Europe. Differences between these people with regard to, for example, family structure or marriage within the group, meant that, for instance, the Dutch differ more from Greeks and Italians than they do from Australians.

Another difference is that which distinguishes not only individual migrants but also whole groups and nationalities -- the original motive for migration.<sup>5</sup> Whether the motive is political flight or, let us say, economic betterment, it will obviously have a direct bearing on the choice of country of settlement, and the degree of willingness to fit in. In this connection, James Jupp has investigated a group of migrants in Melbourne and found that 80 per cent of Greeks, 45 per cent of Italians, and 22 per cent of Dutch, migrated for economic motives. On the other hand, 6 per cent of

Greeks, 39 per cent of Italians, and 11 per cent of Dutch have migrated for the purpose of 'joining relatives',<sup>6</sup> in a process that has been called 'chain migration'.

A third distinction between migrants is their socio-economic background. From 1947 to 1966, Professor C.A. Price has shown that of male settlers, almost three-quarters of the Greeks were unskilled labourers, as against less than one-fifth Dutch and approximately half of the eastern Europeans.<sup>7</sup> These various differences of background in migrants combine to produce very different levels of academic performance, marriage with members of other groups, occupational advancement, and degree of assimilation.

The point that migrants are a highly heterogeneous group of people is well taken. Moreover, there are differences in race and religion, in addition to distinctions raised by Smolicz. Professor Zubrzycki<sup>8</sup> has documented the wide diversity of religious faiths brought by migrants to Australia, while Professor Jean Martin<sup>9</sup> has discussed the role of religion and religious organisations in the process of adjustment of the migrants. With regard to race, as is well known, and as we shall discuss later, the immigration policy of post-war governments has been to very largely exclude all people of non-European race from immigration and permanent entry. In the latter half of the 1960s, the White Australia Policy, as it is known, was somewhat liberalised, and finally officially abandoned by the Labour Government in December 1972. In the first six months of 1973, the number of assisted migrants from countries of origin in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean was 110 out of a total of 26,013 arrivals.<sup>10</sup> Thus while non-European migrants have remained a mere handful of

the total number, their part in the general picture must be borne in mind.

Despite the enormous complexity and heterogeneity of the group of migrants coming to Australia, we are disposed, following the conceptualisation of language, society, culture and their relationship, as discussed in Part I, to draw a line around those immigrants whose native tongue is not English, disregarding for the moment differences of nationality, race, religion, education, or reason for emigration, as Dr. Smolicz has done.

In taking this step, we are excluding from our study the very largest group of immigrants, and some very small groups. Of the British, the largest group, there were 1.3 million between 1860 and 1919, 204,000 between 1921 and 1933, and since World War II, approximately 800,000.<sup>11</sup> The very small groups have included Americans, New Zealanders, and native-English speaking Indians and people from Oceania. Our criterion of selection, then, is purely linguistic, but from an analysis based upon it, we may be able to draw some conclusions regarding the participation of the members of this group in various dimensions of Australian life.

There has been a considerable amount of scholarly concern with the question of immigration. By far the greatest proportion of this activity has centered around the question of assimilation. This is obviously a process of very great interest to sociologists, but is not directly relevant to our immediate purpose, as will become clear. The category or group that we have defined above linguistically has received much of this attention, being defined

often as 'ethnic'. Dr. Price writes

'... the term 'ethnic' is defined, not in the narrow sense of 'racial' or 'physical', but in the broad sense of 'culture'; i.e. an 'ethnic group' is a people who for physical, linguistic, religious, historical, political or other reasons feel themselves to be, or are felt by others to be, a distinct and separate people.' <sup>12</sup>

Professor Martin gives a slightly more precise definition

'... the term 'ethnic' is reserved for populations born outside Australia. Non-ethnic populations and structures will be described as 'local' or 'Australian' ... had we been obliged to take account of ... (the British) ... we would simply have introduced a third category of 'British' minority.' <sup>13</sup>

In this chapter we are disinclined to employ the term 'ethnic group' though clearly this concept embraces the non-native English-speakers, since its use may convey an impression that the native-born Australians are lacking in 'ethnicity', or are in some way possessed of a lesser degree of cultural relativity. Professor Martin does indicate a consciousness of this possible misinterpretation when she writes that

'... no better word than 'minority' is available to describe them'. <sup>14</sup>

It is interesting, moreover, to note that the writers of the Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism make a similar observation with regard to Canadian Society when they note that :

'Dominant groups are often more aware of the ethnicity of minority groups than they are of their own ...' <sup>15</sup>

It is possible to describe minority groups in terms of a scale of 'assimilation', or the absence of assimilation which is

'ethnicity'; however this is a different kind of enterprise to that which concerns us here. There are two reasons for this: firstly, we are assuming culture ('ethnicity') to be an unknown, recognizing instead only language in the minority, and also in the Australian society, which precludes measurement of degrees of 'assimilation' to that culture, and secondly, we are concerned with participation in the society, on the assumption that assimilation is not a necessary condition of participation, and for the additional reason that unlike assimilation, participation can easily be assessed by objective criteria.

For our purposes, the nature and type of participation is more interesting. Catholics, for example, are a minority group, and perhaps by the usual criteria an 'ethnic minority', yet their participation in Australian society has distinct characteristics which may enable us to draw some conclusions about their culture. However, their 'assimilation', that is, conversion to the majority religion, Protestantism, while no doubt of great interest from some points of view, does not enable us to draw the same inferences about their culture. Similarly, with Jews,<sup>16</sup> the nature and type of participation may be said to reflect their culture, rather more than their rate or degree of assimilation to Christianity, or any other part of the culture of the majority of Australians.

Professor Martin notes<sup>17</sup> the minority position of Jews in Europe, or Indians and Chinese in the Pacific, who exercise considerable financial power and from this we can infer that minority status is not necessarily a bar to participation.

Moreover, the existence of special barriers to participation by minority groups in the affairs of the whole society which have been created by the majority may reflect an aspect of the culture of that majority, and therefore interest us.

As well as scholarly concern with 'assimilation', there has been a lively popular advocacy of it as an ideal. However, this has somewhat lessened in the 1960s, and government policy has adapted accordingly. In 1971 The Minister of Immigration of the time, Mr. Phillip Lynch, said, at a Summer School at the University of Western Australia,

'The earlier desire to make stereotype Australians of the newcomers has been cast aside. The use of the word 'integration' instead of 'assimilation' is not mere semantics - it is the outward sign of a fundamental change of attitude of the Australian government and people.' <sup>18</sup>

Assimilation may well be an impossible, and even improper, if in some ways understandable, demand for a majority to make of the minorities it finds in its midst. As an academic concern, however, assimilation is a legitimate subject to study. In the context of the United States, for instance, there has been much debate over the relative merits of two contrasting concepts, the 'melting pot' (or 'anglo-conformism') as compared with 'cultural pluralism', <sup>19</sup> and which we will discuss in detail in Part III of this work.

A similar preference to the one for which we have argued - participation as against assimilation - has been shown by Zubrzycki, <sup>20</sup> who follows the distinction of the American sociologist Gordon. <sup>21</sup> Gordon distinguishes 'structural assimilation', or the process by

which immigrants become distributed in the social and economic structure as a precondition to their entering the political, social and cultural organisations of the receiving society, from 'behavioural assimilation' or the extent to which the minority has absorbed the cultural patterns of the receiving society such as language, dress, sport, diet, art and religion. Professor Zubrzycki believes that considerable behavioural assimilation has taken place in Australia, while structural assimilation has not been very extensive, particularly in the occupational structure. In other words, there has been considerable assimilation but rather less penetration of the structure such that participation has remained low in the higher levels of organisation.

As Professor Zubrzycki has written on another occasion,

'An important test of the ultimate success of a migration programme is the extent of social participation by the immigrants in the receiving community.' <sup>22</sup>

We must now examine this participation of migrants, and of minority groups made up of migrants, and attempt to relate it to linguistic competence in both English and the native language.

#### Economic Participation

The participation of migrants in the economic life of Australia has been described by Professor Martin in her article 'Migration and Social Pluralism'.<sup>23</sup> Particular national groups have sometimes concentrated in certain occupations, socio-economic positions, and residential areas. In the past, for example, Germans concentrated in parts of rural South Australia, and Italians in Queensland.<sup>24</sup>



The tendency for Southern European and Chinese groups to derive their income from self-employment in farms or retail business is a tradition which continues into the present. Professor Zubrzycki's analysis of the 1961 Census shows that Greeks, Italians, Yugoslavs, Maltese, Poles and those born in the USSR and Ukraine to concentrate in the industrial labour category. Moreover, all non-native English-speaking migrants are grossly under-represented in clerical, managerial and professional occupations.<sup>25</sup>

The distribution of nationalities through income and occupation levels is complicated by the spread, within each group, throughout the structure. The general complexity of the situation is shown well in Zubrzycki's tables of concentration by nationalities in occupations, and the proportion of nationalities in various classes of occupation. The simplest table to take is the one which shows the percentage of each national group who are members of what has been called Class I, that is, the upper and lower professional, graziers, wheat and sheep farmers.

Australia : Ethnic Groups Ranking  
According to the Proportion of Each  
Birthplace in Class I \* Census 1961.

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>% Class I</u>
1	U.S.A.	23.55
2	India	17.63
3	New Zealand	17.10
4	China	11.51
5	Latvia	11.17
6	Australia	10.31

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>% Class I</u>
7	Ireland	10.01
8	Czechoslovakia	10.00
9	Hungary	9.78
10	England, Wales	9.52
11	Austria	7.91
12	Ukraine, USSR	7.92
13	Scotland	7.19
14	Netherlands	5.92
15	Germany	5.44
16	Poland	4.80
17	Yugoslavia	2.28
18	Malta	1.03
19	Italy	0.90
20	Greece	0.64

\* Upper and lower professional, graziers, wheat and sheep farmers.

Moving from Class I, the position of migrants in the other classes can be summarized. In Class II, the virtual absence of Greeks and Italians from Class I is somewhat compensated for by the concentration of these two groups in the category of Self-Employed Shop Proprietors, where there are more than four times as many Greeks as in the general workforce. Italians are also substantial members of this class through their entry as Other Farmers, in fruit growing,

market gardening and sugar cane farming.

In Class III, clerical workers, the armed forces, and the police, there is a preponderance of the Australian and British Component (95.1 per cent of this category).

Class IV, craftsmen and foremen, employs 43.8 per cent of German males and 36.9 per cent Dutch.

In Class V, shop assistants, factory workers and drivers, we find Poles, Maltese, Yugoslavs, Italians and Greeks, all over-represented by comparison with their proportion of the total workforce.

In Class VI, the predominantly unskilled manual occupations, those groups who were so conspicuously absent from Classes I and III are over-represented, the Greeks (42.7%), Italians (39.1%), Yugoslavs (38.7%), Maltese (38.5%) and Poles (29.9%) - in each case the figure is the percentage of each group to be found in this particular class.

Thus the general picture is one of some Greeks and Italians penetrating the upper-end of the scale as self-employed shop-keepers and small farmers; Australians and British are virtually monopolising the white-collar, and therefore middleclass, jobs; while as skilled workers, there is a solid migrant component, particularly Dutch, German and eastern European, and in the unskilled work-force, we find a very large and probably the overwhelmingly greater proportion of migrants, mainly Italian, but also Yugoslavian, Greek and Maltese.

Professor Zubrzycki's information is of course rather dated, being based on the 1961 Census, and does not cover the employment

of migrant women. No doubt with greater periods of residence in Australia, and even greater shortages of personnel, migrants are in increasing numbers starting to penetrate the higher and middle organisational levels, as for example, the teaching or nursing professions, or the police forces or the public services, or the media of communications. A personal inspection of the General Motors' Holden plant, or Tooth's Brewery, or any of the Melbourne knitting mills will convince the visitor that just as British and Australians monopolize the white collar jobs, so do migrants come near to monopolizing the blue collar jobs, and also many of the agricultural jobs such as grape picking or cane cutting.

An important, and perhaps obvious point in relation to the foregoing discussion is of course the role of the Australian Immigration Policy. Australia has benefited by way of a 'brain drain' from several countries, particularly the U.S.A., New Zealand and India, in that a very high proportion of immigrants from these countries belong to the professional classes, and while unskilled Indians are not generally given entry, unskilled Italians, Greeks and Yugoslavs are, and also some Turks, Lebanese and Mauritians. The policy always has been, and still is, selective, and bases its selection on largely racial criteria, as do most other nations. Racial discrimination is morally indefensible to many Australians, but a discussion of this question is beyond the immediate scope of this work.

Professor Zubrzycki draws the conclusion from his analysis of the occupation distribution of migrants that ...

'... the fact remains that ethnicity is related to socio-economic status, Whether observed differences in occupational

achievements are results of selective immigration, entrance status, ability, motivation, or perhaps discrimination can only be inferred from the data here presented' ... 'Recent American and Australian research has indicated that several intervening variables could be taken into account, e.g., the settler's pre-migration background (rural or urban), restrictions concerning the recognition of professional or trade qualifications, education, and father's occupational status.'<sup>27</sup>

While fully endorsing the probable validity of every one of these factors, which may be called cultural competence, we must add an additional one: linguistic competence. It could, of course, be taken for granted in many of the variables stated, e.g., background or education and surely must be the major component of the concept of 'ethnicity'.

However, before studying the relationship between economic participation and language competence, it is necessary to consider another aspect of the same situation: migrants as spenders of income, the obverse to their role of producers of income.

As can be expected, the tendency for migrants who are non-native English-speakers to be concentrated in less-skilled and therefore lower-paid occupations is reflected in their over-representation in the poorer sections of Australian society. The survey of poverty in Melbourne by the Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research in 1966 revealed that, of adult male workers, the following percentage of various national groups was earning low wages, i.e. below \$39 per week.<sup>28</sup>

National Origin	Percentage Earning Low Wages
Greece	50.4
Italy	24.8
Other migrants	10.6
United Kingdom	9.8
Australia	6.9
Netherlands	4.5
Germany	0.
All nationalities	9.9

The writers of the Survey point out, however, that the Italians and Greeks who are in the low earning category are not necessarily all poor, as they may be single, having working wives, or have few dependents. Period of residence in Australia may have a considerable influence on income. All groups of recently arrived migrants had a higher proportion of poor people than the population as a whole, in the case of the British, this was 9.2 per cent below the poverty line, for the Italians it was 15.3 per cent, and for the Greeks 16.2 per cent, compared with 7.7 per cent for the population of a whole.<sup>29</sup> After ten years of residence in Australia, migrants have been able to achieve home ownership, not to the same extent as native-born Australians, in the case of British, Dutch or Germans, but actually higher in the case of Italians and Greeks.<sup>30</sup>

National Origin (Arrived before 1959 in case of Italy, Greece & U.K.)	Home owners	
	and buyers	Tenants
	%	%
Australia	74.2	25.8
United Kingdom	73.0	27.0
Italy	84.1	15.9
Greece	77.6	22.4
Netherlands	60.7	39.3
Germany	41.4	58.5
Other	70.0	30.0
<hr/>		
Total	72.4	27.6
<hr/>		

In the summary at the conclusion of the chapter on Migrants, the Melbourne Poverty Report concludes:

'Migrants have other and perhaps more intractable problems than the economic ones outlined in this chapter: problems of language, of different cultural patterns, of isolation and loneliness. Ignorance of English often leads to a breakdown in communication, so that, as one interviewer commented, 'migrants often miss out because they do not know about social services, or how to set about finding out.' 31

An additional point that can be made here is that language has an important influence on the place of settlement of migrants; Dr. Price notes<sup>32</sup> that it is a 'reason for concentration'. When he arrives, a migrant with no English may be able to find work under a bilingual foreman. However, even if he has become fluent in English, the migrant may be reluctant to move from an area where he has ties with family and perhaps village or region of origin. Dr. Price gives the examples of the Alexander the Great Club in Melbourne whose

members are Greeks from Macedonia, or the Kastellorizan Brotherhood representing families from Greece's farthest island territory in the south-west. Moreover there are national churches, newspapers, evening schools, shops and cinemas, all of which follow employment.

'As a result', writes Dr. Price, 'parts of Sydney and Melbourne, and other towns are now a genuine 'little Italy' or 'little Greece' or some such, where the British-Australian visitor cannot hear a word of English in the streets and may become quite bewildered with shops advertising their goods in an alien language.' 33

Within such a community, migrants do not face a linguistic barrier to participation, but that, of course is not participation in Australian society.

The writers of the Melbourne poverty survey have found that language difficulty is a fundamental cause of poverty among migrants, and often compounds itself with a number of other problems. They note, for example, the difficulties of 'an Italian or Greek who knows little English and comes from a simple village background' in negotiating a housing loan (page 139) or of an Italian family who had been repaying a housing loan with the help of their son; when the son was killed in a car accident they had been unable to continue repayments ... 'The husband earned \$34 a week and his wife was unable to work because of poor health and language difficulty' (page 138).

In a completely different situation is the typical migrant from one of the Northern European countries: his passage has been assisted, he has brought some capital, he has a skill, and ... 'he speaks English or is sufficiently educated to be able to learn it without too much difficulty', (page 140); however, we note that



the Southern European ... 'speaks no English and has little education which will help him to learn it' (page 141).

It is fairly inescapable, therefore that those migrants with the least command of English gravitate towards those occupations that are the least acceptable to Australians, notably, the motor industry, that is, economic participation in the most unpleasant types of assembly and process work. James Jupp observes that Greek migrants called General Motors-Holden Kendron theokhomenon, the transit camp, where they will work, with as much overtime as possible, as their first step along the road to wealth, from which they will return one day to their native land, as the 'Onassis of the village'.<sup>34</sup>

An article in the National Times by Glennys Bell, 'On the Line : A Life Sentence to the Dirty Work Australians Won't do',<sup>35</sup> reports that the majority of the Ford Motor Company's work-force of about 3,000 are migrants. In the production areas, body shop and assembly line, about 95 per cent of the workers are not only non-native English speakers, but are non-English speaking as well. In the service departments, the stock rooms and the cleaner working areas, the reverse situation applies, and about 70 per cent of the workers are English-speaking. For about 15 per cent of the 37 nationalities employed in the company, it is the first job upon arrival in Australia.

"They come here because they can go on the job straight away, without being able to speak English'...

the plant manager, Mr. Don Deveson, is reported as saying

'...Generally, English speaking workers are used in areas where communications are needed, in quality control, the materials Department, industrial relations.'<sup>36</sup>

At the Leyland Motor Corporation in Sydney, a similar situation obtains.

'If they stopped taking on foreigners tomorrow, the whole factory would close down within a week. You don't find Australians working on the line.

... The Australians are doing the clean, easy work in other areas.'<sup>37</sup>

said Mr. Frank Mizzi, a migrant worker interviewed by Miss Bell.

The Leyland Company conduct English lessons after work three nights a week. Attendance has been large enough, it is reported, to convince Leyland that the classes are of value. By contrast, the Ford company does not conduct English lessons:

'They've been a dismal success wherever they've been held', the manager is reported as saying. <sup>38</sup>

The lack of command of the English language is believed to have played a role in the violence during the 1973 strike of Ford. Many observers, including Mr. Deveson, attribute the violence that occurred to the fact that not all the workers understood what was happening or what the votes of the meetings meant. Later, when the proceedings were translated into the major migrant languages, there was a return to work after nine weeks. The decision of the Arbitration Commission is to be translated for the benefit of migrants, according to Miss Bell.

At Leyland, it is compulsory for workers to belong to the Vehicle Builders' Employees Federation, a union which collects its dues, but we are informed, does nothing to explain its function or its benefits to any member, English-speaking or foreign.

One factor which may explain the preponderance of migrants

in the motor industry, is that in many other more highly paid occupations where labour is also unskilled, entry into the union is barred to non-Australians or those without a friend or relative. Miss Bell quotes some New Zealanders who found difficulties in the way of their joining the Builders' Labourers Federation, and who turned instead, as so many non-English speaking migrants have been obliged to do, to the motor industry. It is believed that the Waterside Workers' Federation operates a similar type of closed shop.

Thus, while it is true that migrant participation 'keeps the motor industry going', 'keeps the cost of cars within the range of the majority of Australians', and 'does the jobs that most Australians refuse', it is by no means true that all unskilled jobs in Australia are filled by migrants with an insecure knowledge of English. Many of the unskilled jobs are reserved for Australians only, or the rare migrant with contacts, and in particular, it is the more highly paid and less monotonous work of the building and stevedoring industries.

Thus, with the range of unskilled employment, we may visualise a profile of participation with migrants who do not speak English at the bottom, with only limited opportunity for advancement.

'I came here a young boy, and now I'm a balding old man',<sup>39</sup> said Mr. George Christos, with fourteen years as an unskilled worker on the production line since arriving from Greece.

'Only migrants will do the work, and we're just slaves',<sup>40</sup> said Mr. Mizzi formerly of Malta.

We must now consider participation in the wider context of society: in some areas of life other than the occupational.

### Political Participation

Political participation has received quite a lot of study, not only by political scientists, but also by politicians in search of votes. Professor Davies has devoted a chapter in his book Essays in Political Sociology<sup>41</sup> to the subject of Migrants in Politics.

Professor Davies raises and discusses a number of interesting propositions in this chapter, as well as outlining the profile of migrant participation in politics, and underlying which language plays an ever-present role.

Firstly, migrants are politically apathetic - politics have already failed them. Their native land has let them down, failed their expectations, or sometimes hurt them and put them to flight. The cutting of roots necessarily involved in migration, and the relative improvement in conditions in the new society lessen the incentive for political action, and moreover, the 'special barriers of language, tone and paraphernalia',<sup>42</sup> inhibit action until a whole group runs into economic difficulties, or an individual develops a special sense of 'mission' or responsibility for his compatriots. Roughly one in ten migrants is not so much a person whom politics has failed as one who has been a victim of politics, in the sense of having had political enemies in the home country. Some are Jewish fugitives from Nazi persecution,<sup>43</sup> some are fugitives from Communist<sup>44</sup> or Fascist<sup>45</sup> regimes, while some simply backed the wrong side.<sup>46</sup> As we note from Professor Martin's Community and Identity<sup>47</sup> among the Eastern European migrants, simple anti-communism has been a unifying force, though it has diminished with the passing of time.

On the other hand, some migrants, notably southern Europeans, have had no trouble in welding European and Australian Communism, and have advocated the policies laid down by the Third International in Moscow.<sup>48</sup>

Professor Davies states a rough typology of migrants: the doubly apathetic, the newly apathetic, and the fighters-on, though he regrets that he has no estimate of numbers or proportions. Moreover, there is the dimension of political competence to take into account. He sees two extreme cases: the British Labour Party Secretary's aide who becomes, within one week after arriving in Australia, the ALP leader's secretary and finds himself drafting a federal election plank, and at the other extreme, the Shepparton orchardist from Macedonia 'working brutal hours, with no English even for market dealings, and no ethnic paper to keep him informed of his old country, let alone Australian politics'.<sup>49</sup> Political competence thus presupposes linguistic competence, in the first case it is, of course, taken for granted, but in the second case, Professor Davies implicitly notes, the lack of linguistic access, i.e. through a newspaper, of the Macedonian farmer to the politics of his own migrant group, which, as we observe, plays a special role in the general process of participation by migrants. Political competence is also related to education. Dr. Medding has shown this to be the case with Jewish men.<sup>50</sup>

To language and education we must add that which in a migrant, Professor Davies calls 'a fault in his political consciousness'.<sup>51</sup> As he changes experience, the migrant suffers 'persistence of political vision', in which he has difficulty in 'unlearning'

the politics of his former life and adjusting to a new one. Economic struggle for survival may well push politics far into the background, anyway.

The first proposition, then, is that political competence is related to a number of factors, including language, of course. Competence is a helpful concept, but our major concern is participation. The two concepts are obviously related - the greater the competence the more effective the participation. But participation of low competence, low professionalism, and probably low effectiveness, may nonetheless be of considerable interest to us from the point of view of the role of language.

The second major proposition discussed by Professor Davies is that the migrant community plays a vital, and ambiguous, role in acclimatising the migrant to the politics of his new country, a role, which on close inspection resembles a decompression chamber. 'Politicking in the ethnic group artificially prolongs the change to play politics in the old way and by the old rules; it is a social "time on"'.<sup>52</sup> Meanwhile, the leaders of the group are gaining the strength and competence to profit from Australian politics.

Each community, is, in Dr. Price's term, a 'miniature political system'.<sup>53</sup> But it is also a miniature social system in which migrants can live without ever making contact with the outside world. In such a community, the leader must play the role of what, in the context of another country, Professor Le Page called 'the contact man'. Davies quotes from the thesis of Dr. Petrolias who wrote that Greek voters wanted, as leaders,

'... good Greeks dedicated to the preservation of Greek values', but also ones 'able to move freely within Australian society'.<sup>54</sup>

The national group not only shields its members but it may encourage them in social and political activities not practised at home, through its constant discussion of community affairs and community boundaries.

The reaction of the Australian community towards migrants and their languages and the effect on migrants, is a very complex and perhaps confused one. Mr. B.A. Santamaria has written of the scars left upon him by the belittling by his schoolmates of his migrant parents.

'Where not a few Australian saw only what 'Dago-Hater' saw - 'Greasy, unwashed faces, long hair and jabbering' - the children of the migrants saw an unending struggle on the part of their parents to establish a secure status for their children, based in turn on an extraordinary degree of personal sacrifice. That their parents should be not only misunderstood but vilified was no inconsiderable thing ... It was the major factor which disposed some of its members against identification with the Australian community ... I resented the thought that my parents, who were so outstanding as parents, and as citizens, were just Dagoes.'<sup>55</sup>

The third general proposition advanced by Professor Davies is that migrant groups have participated in Australian politics to only a small extent:

'... it is remarkable how little over the quarter-century the migrant intake itself .. has figured in the moving 'eye' of domestic politics.'<sup>56</sup>

When a migrant is naturalised, he receives by the next post letters of congratulations from the two main parties, with some

description of their activities, and an invitation to join, which is taken up by very few. Dr. Petrolas estimated that in 1959 the Melbourne Central branch of the Liberal Party, covering an area of overwhelming migrant concentration, had perhaps five Greek and ten Italian members.<sup>57</sup> The leaders of the Greek community are, Professor Davies observes, Liberal inclined, but do not belong to that party, while most politically active Greeks support the Australian Labor Party. Greeks have little interest in the Democratic Labor Party, but a split within the Greek community along religious and cultural lines seems immanent. The A.L.P. and the D.L.P. vie on even terms for Italian support. The A.L.P. has a purely Italian affiliate Il Consiglio Italiano-Australiano del Lavoro, which publishes a news-sheet, Il Progresso, while there is also a Sydney A.L.P. monthly, Australian Journal.<sup>58</sup>

The preferences of a sample of Melbourne Jewish voters were two-thirds to the A.L.P. in the 1958 and 1961 elections. Jews from Germany, Austria and eastern Europe strongly supported the A.L.P.; Australian Jews were evenly divided between the two main parties, while Hungarian and Czechoslovakian Jews were solidly Liberal.<sup>59</sup>

In a survey in 1964 of Melbourne Chinese only two local party members were found, and both were Liberal, though most of the survey respondents were distinctly conservative, preferring the Liberal party to Labour in a ratio of seven to three.<sup>60</sup>

The D.L.P. has in the past been able to enlist quite a lot of migrant support, particularly among those opposed to what that party regards as a Communist threat. Among its migrant supporters,



Professor Davies lists Italian tobacco growers in the Ovens Valley, Italians, Greeks and Maltese in inner Melbourne, and eastern Europeans in the outer Melbourne suburbs and Geelong.

Migrant participation in politics at the level of elected office is fairly rare. James Jupp<sup>61</sup> has estimated that in Melbourne in 1965 there were half a dozen A.L.P. councillors and some fifteen on Victorian councils generally. In the trade union movement, migrants predominate in several industries, such as railways, vehicle building, rubber, meat, and tanning, yet had not risen to executive office at the time Professor Davies was writing, and have still not to any extent, a situation which is in strong contrast with the position of English migrants. It seems clear that the higher the demands of verbalisation and articulation, the more acute the influence of language on political participation. In this context we might wonder whether the predominance of English migrants in some unions is due to superior powers of articulation by comparison with their Australian workmates.

It is rather astonishing to reflect, as Professor Davies does, that between 1945 and 1970 two million people came from overseas to settle in Australia, and that the non-British proportion of the population rose from eleven to twenty per cent,

'... Yet it is hardly possible to point to a single, significant change in Australian politics rooted in migrant ideas, formations, or even needs.' <sup>62</sup>

The fact is, migrants have been fairly reluctant to participate in politics: electorally,<sup>63</sup> in candidature for office, or in party membership. As voters, their votes have cancelled out rather neatly, with Greeks for the A.L.P., eastern Europeans for the Liberals and

D.L.P., and Italians dividing into roughly the same proportions as the Australian native population, (as indeed the British have done).<sup>64</sup>

Perhaps the only effect, and a predictable one, has been that process which Sir Alexander Downer has described as -

'... a diminution of this country's traditional affection for the United Kingdom.'<sup>65</sup>

We must accept Professor Davies' third proposition that migrant participation in Australian politics has been small, but why is this so? The explanation is essentially linguistic, and lies buried in a lengthy quotation which Professor Davies has taken from the famous American political scientist of a generation ago, V.O. Key. Speaking of the United States, Professor Key wrote

'Although from time to time specific events or issues activate memories linked to the homeland even across several generations, over the long run the cohesiveness of the natural-origin group declines. Group ties weaken as English replaces the native language.'<sup>66</sup>

This is the answer to this particular puzzle in the Australian context also. We have noted, with Dr. Smolicz, that migrants are an extraordinarily heterogeneous category of people, not only between nationalities of origin, but also within nationalities. It is language which combines them, identifies them, draws the boundaries of their community, and does the many other functions discussed in Part I. It also limits their participation in Australian politics. Thus, as their ability to speak English and to participate in the politics of the wider society increases, their need for the linguistically defined community diminishes and finally vanishes. In other words, it seems that when the language barrier to participation is overcome,

the migrant becomes an individual political agent, like any other citizen, and his national community has significance only for its non-English-speaking members. Many of the groups, rather than playing a role in Australian politics, fall upon internal dissension,<sup>66</sup> or traditional inter-group bitterness, as flared up again between Serbs and Croats in 1973, where incidentally, a language difference exists, germane to the cultural and religious differences.

Within each migrant community, the native-language press serves its readers in the unique situation of the migrant, his community, and the wider Australian society. Gilson and Zubrzycki, in their book, The Foreign Language Press in Australia 1848-1964,<sup>67</sup> have examined the hypothesis that the foreign language newspapers regarded as one of their tasks the explanation of Australian society to their readers and the outline of their conception of the role of the immigrant in this society. As the basic step towards playing a role in that society, all of the newspapers examined in the study actively encouraged their readers to learn English. In its editorial of April 12, 1956, the Neue Welt advised that the 'conquest of the English language is the migrant's key to assimilation',<sup>68</sup> since it bridged the gap between old and new Australians. The Hellenic Herald of nearly the same date, April 17, 1956, advised its readers of a similar view,

'The secret of learning English is to associate with English-speaking people. This is why so many Greeks and other Southern Europeans fail to learn English. These people, more than others, have a tendency to congregate amongst themselves and to avoid social intercourse with Australians.' <sup>69</sup>

On March, 5, 1959, Il Corriere suggested the following

'A migrant owes it both to himself and to

the community to learn to speak English.  
 He will not make his stay in the country  
 a pleasant one if he has to keep to himself  
 or mix only with his compatriots because  
 of his inability to speak English. He will  
 only vegetate in the gloom of self-pity.'<sup>70</sup>

But while the foreign-language press has always seen the problematic nature of linguistic barriers to participation in Australian society, its various papers have been somewhat dubious about assimilation as a goal for migrants to pursue. Many of the papers, including Il Corriere and La Fiamma preferred the concept of integration, - 'combining into a whole' - to that of assimilation or 'absorbing into the system'.<sup>71</sup> All of the foreign-language papers in the survey advised adjustment by the migrant to life in Australia, but none conceded that this need mean the loss of original national ('ethnic') identity. Many have in their pages, carried articles expressing the feeling that the integration of migrants is a two-way process requiring the help of Australians too, which has not been forthcoming. Instead there have been many statements of feelings of discrimination, lack of friendliness and being treated as 'second class citizens'. Editorials have also expressed protest at the Government's preference for British migrants, and the more favourable treatment given to migrants from that country and some others.

As well as English-learning the foreign-language papers have also worked for the maintenance of the native-language. The Neue Welt was

"... of the opinion that assimilation should not and need not mean the shedding of the mother-tongue.'<sup>72</sup>

Gilson and Zubrzycki concluded that while the Italian, German and

Dutch papers were in favour of native language teaching to children, the Ukrainian, Polish and Greek papers urged it more frequently and more emphatically, as they did also the cohesion and the retention of the distinctiveness of their respective communities, which correspondingly, were less emphasised by the Italian, German and Dutch presses.<sup>73</sup>

We cannot help but to remark upon the high degree of correlation, with regard to the role of language in society, between the foreign-language newspaper editors and their expressed policies, and the conceptualised 'functions of language' stated by Professor Le Page, and the other writers previously discussed. Unmistakably, the editors <sup>CCC</sup>accept our proposition that linguistic competence is the precondition of social participation. But it is also the instrument of group solidarity and cohesion when the language is that of a minority group. But participation does not entail assimilation, and while the editors have asked of their readers and also of the old Australians integration, they have never seen any merit in assimilation, or loss of distinctive identity as embodied in language, though of course, for many children of migrants, the language has died with their parents.

### Social Participation

The participation of migrants in the social life of Australia has obviously a high linguistic content and is therefore related to linguistic competence. In his study of the Settlers of the Latrobe Valley,<sup>74</sup> Professor Zubrzycki has employed sophisticated social survey techniques to identify and relate a number of different facets

of the life of migrants to their linguistic competence. It would not stretch credibility too much to believe that his findings would hold also for migrants in other parts of Australia. With regard to certain matters it would: with regard to employment, for example, the migrants living in this region were largely employees of the Victorian State Electricity Commission, and are not therefore representative of all sections of the non-native English-speaking group in Australia. It does not, for example, include farmers, or self-employed businessmen, or old people, but for a few exceptions.

Though it would not be valid to generalise from the Latrobe Valley group to the whole community, it is valid to study the report of the survey from the point of view of comparing the various national groups standing alongside one another, as it were.

In this context, the Report contains a highly interesting section on Social Participation, which is found to be related directly to linguistic competence. In friendships, the different nationalities showed different kinds of preference.

Friendship on a Visiting Basis : I<sup>75</sup>

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Percentage of Migrants Visiting 'mainly compatriots'.</u>
Ukraine	55
Malta	53
Baltic countries	45
Netherlands	38
Greece and Italy*	35
Yugoslavia	29
Poland	26
Germany	25
Other central and eastern Europe	14

\* In his tables in this section Professor Zubrzycki has treated Greeks and Italians as one group. This seems to be a rather

serious shortcoming, because although there may be cultural similarities in the nations of the Mediterranean Basin, there are also differences, e.g., religion, as well as language.

Friendship on a Visiting Basis : 2<sup>76</sup>

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Percentage of Migrants Visiting 'Australians only'</u>
Germany	14
Netherlands	11
Other central and eastern European	9
Malta	5
Greece and Italy*	4
Yugoslavia	3
Poland	2
Baltic states	0
Ukraine	0

\* Separate figures not available.

We must note firstly, that the two tables do not provide the complete picture of migrant participation as there are migrants who visit other migrants who are not of the same nationality, but who do not visit Australians. Social participation at work is discussed by Professor Zubrzycki, but work is to a certain extent an artificially induced social participation, and for this reason, social relationships in leisure or visiting are more reliable. The two main factors found to influence friendship patterns were firstly, language competence, and secondly, length of residence in Australia. Taking the second one first, 40 per cent of 'recent' immigrants

(under 6 years residence) as compared with 37 per cent of 'older' immigrants (between 6 and 15 years of residence) visit mostly members of their own original nationality, while for those in Australia for more than 15 years, the corresponding figure is only 6 per cent.<sup>77</sup> With regard to language

'... the possibilities for communication and social participation outside the immigrant's ethnic group are affected mostly by knowledge of languages. The reason why the groups with a poor standard of English have most of their ties within their national group is, therefore, evident.'<sup>78</sup>

Social participation may also be observed from the standpoint of membership of voluntary associations. Among Ukrainians, 59 per cent are members of all types of such associations, while of Dutch it is 56 per cent, and of Greeks, Italians and Yugoslavs it is only 16 per cent. In the case of the Ukrainians, by far the greatest proportion are members of exclusively Ukrainian associations, while among the Dutch, 72 per cent were members of 'wholly Australian associations'.<sup>79</sup> The Greeks and Italians were not largely members of associations, but instead, frequented meeting places, such as the Poulos Café, or the Espresso Bar, both in Yallourn, and serving respectively Greek men and Italian men, on an informal but highly functional basis, with conversation, gossip, music and reading material in the national languages. As well as the cafes, there is sport and also the respective churches, in which migrants have a participatory role. Professor Zubrzycki notes that the Lutheran Church in Newborough, which conducts services in German and English, has a mixed congregation including Germans, Latvians, Estonians and a few Finns, and has a welfare organisation attending, amongst



others, 'a few lonely German-speaking immigrants who live in one of the hostels'.<sup>80</sup>

In soccer, where language competence has the least effect on migrant participation, one can see the fullest kind of integration. Professor Zubrzycki records the names of competing teams 'Germany vs. Holland', 'Slavia vs. Budapest', or 'Australia vs. Rest of Europe'. In this latter contest, the names of the players in one August, 1961, match were:

Australia: Kaser, Walker, Schultz, Kovacs,  
Trantor, Evans, James, Ellis,  
J. Szabo, S. Szabo.

Rest of Europe: Slingman, Vandgeninden,  
Alisauskas, Hargreaves, Bek,  
R. Mackay, Hunter, Langenberg,<sup>81</sup>  
Chixi, Ipenberg, J. Mackey.

The national or 'ethnic' associations fulfil a number of functions<sup>82</sup>; we have already noted their political function. On occasions they cease to function and, as an example of this, Zubrzycki cites the Dutch Social Club of Moe, which was apparently no longer needed by its members, particularly as no 'new blood' from Holland continued to arrive in Moe, but went instead to Morwell, where a Dutch-Australian Club continued to thrive.

But how many migrants become members of Australian associations? The survey in the Latrobe Valley showed that 'the only way is through personal contacts',<sup>83</sup> and in this way, progress was slow. Very few migrants had joined the more exclusive type of association, such as Rotary Clubs or the Junior Chambers of Commerce. In April 1962, the Rotary Club of Moe had no members born outside Australia or the British Isles. The Morwell Rotary Club had at that time

admitted two migrant members, a Pole and a Greek, who had established themselves in business in Morwell, while in the Moe Junior Chamber of Commerce there were two migrants, a Dutchman and a German.

By contrast, however, the Apex clubs had made real efforts to attract the membership of migrants, and in the Morwell and Moe Clubs nearly 25 per cent of membership was of non-British migrant origin. The president of the Moe Club in 1961 was a man of Hungarian birth.

The low participation of migrant women in Australian social life has received a certain amount of academic attention, which we study in a moment. In the Latrobe Valley survey, one interviewer stated

'There are very few migrant women who have outside interests' ... (family, children, Infant Welfare Centres) '...and very often the husband thinks that this should be the extent of the woman's outings.' 84

Sometimes church organisations provide an opportunity for social participation, but the Australian organisations in the area, notably the Country Women's Association, do not have many migrant women as members. One interviewer wrote that

'... in most cases, the language difficulty is a very real barrier and ... Australian members could help more in this respect by not expecting too much from migrants in too short a time.' 85

Perhaps more civil than social, naturalization may nonetheless be a very significant index of social participation in that it tells something of a migrant's attitude towards his new country. We have already seen in the discussion of political participation that approximately one million people in Australia (presumably of the

right age although Senator McClelland's statement did not make this explicit), are not naturalized as Australian citizens.<sup>86</sup> It may well, therefore, be necessary to inspect the distribution of naturalized migrants among the various nationalities of origin.

Naturalization of Migrants Resident  
in Australia Five Years and More.<sup>87</sup>

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Percentage Naturalized</u>
Baltic states	76
Other central and eastern European	64
Netherlands	64
Yugoslavia	52
Greece and Italy*	50
Ukraine	28
Poland	25
Germany	20

\* Separate figures not available.

This information clearly shows that naturalization and social participation are not related, and so we must accept Zubrzycki's conclusion that naturalization is not a significant index of social participation,

'Clearly, further research and probing are required before the motivation is fully understood'.<sup>88</sup>

But will the sociologist, or social worker, or psychologist, or for that matter anyone other than the migrant himself and his wife, if

he has one, ever understand the process by which he has come to accept a new nation, at the price of 'renouncing all other allegiances', including of course, the country of his birth? We are inclined to doubt this.<sup>89</sup>

Professor Zubzycki ha , with his interviewers, met a number of migrants who do not participate. When asked to name the things they missed most from their country of origin, a third of all migrants interviewed named three things: firstly, family contacts - mother, father and relatives with whom celebrations were shared; secondly, the opposite sex: 'I miss the companionship of girls who can speak my language', or 'girls will not go out with New Australians unless they speak good English'; and thirdly, freedom from language difficulties, is at the core of migrant loneliness, which, we may believe, is at its worst at the times of family celebrations, Christmas, Easter, birthdays, saints' days and the traditions which are so much a part of European life, but particularly in the southern European countries. Of course there are many other factors, for example, the loss of real or imagined status, cultural starvation, hatred of communism and/or Australia, and mistrust of compatriots, forming an incredibly diverse range of motives and reasons for withdrawal from participation, not to mention the reactions of the 'host society' (which will be treated in a subsequent chapter). But underlying all participation, or lack of it, there is the language problem, and the response made to it by the migrant, individually and in groups.

Thus the role of language in the social participation of migrants has received the close attention of Professor Zubrzycki in his study of Settlers in the Latrobe Valley.<sup>91</sup> Here he has

examined 'difference in character and extent of participation', with the purpose of relating such differences to ethnic and also rural/urban background, age, and length of residence in Australia. These factors are of course incidental to our study, but we shall none the less note their significance.

Although his interest is in these hypotheses, Professor Zubrzycki commences his study with a five part assumption.

'Five principal factors were assumed to have a bearing on the character and extent of social participation of immigrants in the Latrobe Valley : the mastery of the English language; the extent to which the immigrant is exposed to such media of mass communication as the English language press, radio, and television; the reading of foreign language press and books; the language spoken in the immediate family circle; and the immigrant's intentions, or actual practice, with regard to the teaching of his native language to his children.' <sup>93</sup>

English Language Standard. <sup>92</sup>

<u>Country of Origin.</u>	<u>Percentage achieving a higher level of English language fluency.</u>
Netherlands	82
Germany	64
Baltic States	55
Other central and eastern European	52
Malta	43
Yugoslavia	39
Ukraine	31
Poland	24
Greece and Italy*	19

\* Separate figures not available.

In the assessments of English language standard made by the interviewers of their subjects, a distinct pattern emerged: of the Italians, Greeks and Poles, three-quarters of the men were listed as speaking and/or reading little English or none at all: while of the Dutch, German, and Baltic immigrants, fifty per cent or more spoke colloquial English and read with ease.<sup>94</sup>

Is there a causal relationship between standard of English and country of birth, such that, for example, an Italian is pre-disposed to be a poor English-speaker?

Professor Zubrzycki states a number of objections to this hypothesis. Firstly, the assessment did not take into account an individual's innate language learning ability, nor his opportunities for English-learning - does he work with native English-speakers, for example? Secondly, it takes no account of his standard of education and socio-economic status before migration - on this score the immigrants from the Baltic states were high on both scores before migrating while the Poles were low on both. Thirdly, the rural/urban background of the immigrants is closely associated statistically with the standard of English, while finally, the age of the immigrant seems to have a strong influence on his ability to learn English. Within the sample, the younger men, aged between 20 and 34 years, had a significantly higher proportion who spoke reasonably good English than the 'older adults', or men aged 50 years and over. Professor Zubrzycki has been able to generalise that somewhere above 50 seems to be the critical age beyond which the immigrant cannot in ordinary circumstances master a new language.<sup>95</sup> This seemed to apply to all men irrespective of their period of residence in Australia, which

itself was not found to relate significantly to language standard.

The relationship between standard of English and nationality of origin is thus a very complex one involving many different but often related factors. In the case of Greeks, and some other groups of far lesser numbers, there is additional problem of having to learn a new alphabet. But lastly, there is the very highly individual matter of the strength of personal motivation

'... the immigrants positive predisposition to adjust, and to learn the ways and the language of his new country ...'<sup>96</sup>

Command of English is fundamental to the adjustment to society which is a precondition for participation. Not only is adjustment achieved through personal contact, but through the media, from which an immigrant can develop an awareness of the country, its people, and their way of life. Professor Zubrzycki's team of interviewers found, in their survey, that the German, Baltic and Dutch immigrants had a high exposure to the media, while the Ukrainians, Poles, Greeks and Italians, in that order, had a low exposure.<sup>97</sup> By contrast, the reading of native language books and periodicals correlated inversely. The groups of which 50 per cent of the members read in their native language at least once a week were Poland, Germany, Ukraine, Italy and Greece, but half of the Maltese never read a Maltese language publication. Though this point is not raised by the survey report, readership of native-language publications may be related to the availability, quality and cost of those publications. Some of the journals, for example, the German language ones, were read not only by Germans but also by German-speaking migrants from Poland, the Ukraine, Yugoslavia and the Baltic states.

With regard to the language spoken at home, a clear pattern presented itself to the survey-workers, whereby 13 per cent of Yugoslavs, 16 per cent of Dutch, and 72 per cent of Ukrainians speak only their native language at home.<sup>98</sup> With increases of period of residence in Australia, not surprisingly, the percentage of migrants speaking only their native language at home significantly drops. On the other hand, the rural/urban background did not appear to be related to the question of the language spoken at home.

The last of the five factors listed by Professor Zubrzycki as having bearing on social participation is the intention of the immigrant with regard to the teaching of his native language to his children. Here the difference among nationalities is striking. Some national groups expressed a very strong desire that their children should attend classes in their native language:

Country of Origin	Percentage intending <sup>99</sup> to have children to <u>learn native language.</u>
Ukraine	79
Baltic states	73
Poland	55
Other central and eastern European	44
Italy and Greece*	40
Germany	28
Yugoslavia	27
Malta	24
Netherlands	6

\* Separate figures not available.



Professor Zubrzycki relates this difference in attitude to language learning to motive for migrating: the Baltic and eastern European people know themselves as political refugees, with a duty to preserve their language as a national responsibility of their group, while on the other hand, the voluntary migrants from Italy, Greece and the Netherlands may well have left their country because of lack of opportunities, and therefore care less about maintaining their language.

Thus, among migrant workers and their families in the Latrobe Valley, competence in the English language was demonstrably fundamental to their social participation in the wider society. At the same time, the maintenance of native languages could not be said to inhibit participation:

'It is clear, therefore, that the teaching of native languages to children does not necessarily prevent active social participation in Australian social institutions.' 100

We shall return later to the question of language maintenance.

#### Participation in Medical Services

Additional evidence that a low level of social participation by migrants is related to lack of linguistic competence comes from the medical profession, and has been discussed under the title of 'migration stresses'.<sup>101</sup> One of the most notable kind of migration stress is paranoia, or 'persecutory delusions of lingually isolated persons' or 'aliens' paranoid reactions'. In his capacity as a psychiatrist at Sydney Hospital, Dr. I. Listwan treated 244 new patients and found that 48 were migrants, that is 20 per cent of the patients.

Of the whole group, 44 were diagnosed as suffering from paranoid states, 17 of these were from the migrant group. Of the group of 17 paranoid migrants, 12 were from eastern European countries, 13 were unmarried, 14 were males, and 12 were in the age group 25 to 35 years.

In the four cases described, Dr. Listwan reported that the migrants feared persecution, by political organisations and workmates, medical experimentation, sexual inadequacy, and death. One of the patients had to be certified insane.

The picture in so many of the patients was found to be repetitive, so that there is a similar underlying dynamic. Dr. Listwan takes the view that the dynamic is one in which the social factor is very important. Displaced persons are not only displaced horizontally to a new country, but vertically to a new and lower socio-economic level. Where they are from agricultural countries, the notion of the mother-country can be expected to be more strongly implanted in the migrant. We may speculate that the concept of 'mother-country' may symbolically represent the patient's mother, with memories of nourishment and pleasure. The mother-tongue is symbolically important in this way, and the migrant may have lost that and his own name (as we have seen in Weinreich, above).

'Their own language and their own name become to a great extent bound up with personality.' Moreover, '... one's own language carries an emotional value of high intensity.' 102

What kinds of conclusion can be drawn from the treatment of 'migration stresses' and the resultant paranoid states? Listwan

suggests four main avenues of approach:

1. The learning of English as soon as possible, including emotionally coloured language as found in poetry and plays;
2. the continuation of the migrant's mother-tongue, particularly within a family circle;
3. the finding of a substitute for mother-country and other mother figures, (a) by encouragement to marry and establish a family as soon as possible, and (b) by encouragement to join national groups;
4. the desensitization of migrants from their paranoid reactions to authority such as police, government officials, through guidance and re-education.

Dr. Listwan reports that

'The patients improve remarkably well when social adjustments and re-education are undertaken', <sup>103</sup>

and that patients can be treated with good results. The picture is not all that gloomy. Moreover, all of the four cases discussed were men who had experienced stresses of the most extreme nature before they left Europe. Three had been in concentration camps; in one case, one of the worst. All had experienced the upheaval of the war and came from countries which were subsequently under Soviet domination. There is also the cultural factor, which we have already noticed at work in all of the other sections of this chapter.

Listwan writes,

'Make-up, personality, character, temperament are different in different cultures. Accordingly pathological reaction-type, whether they are neurotic or psychotic, differ also. It is well known that inhabitants of the

Mediterranean basin are emotionally unstable and excitable and that therefore they have the tendency to manic-depressive reactions, when mentally deranged. On the other hand, inhabitants of eastern European countries with their slowness, languidity and lack of temperament tend to schizophrenic reactions and particularly to the katatonic variety.' <sup>104</sup>

This is significant in that it reminds us that migrant adjustment is not just a question of language competence, but also a question of acquiring certain cultural skills and knowledge.

Migrants' medical problems, for the most part, do not reach the Psychiatric Units of hospitals. The participation of migrants in relationships with general practitioners and specialists, and hospitals, is, as is well known, <sup>105</sup> beset with linguistic problems, as has been revealed in the Task Force Reports. In his article 'Medical and Health Problems of Immigrants', <sup>106</sup> Dr. Salek Minc wrote that

'Not only the language, but also cultural differences concur in creating a semantic gulf between the patient and the hospital doctor.'

The cultural differences between migrants, and between migrants and Australians manifest themselves in many diverse ways, and it is not inconceivable that some medical staff may react unfavourably to some of these. In an article on 'Women and Doctors' <sup>107</sup> Caroline Graham wrote

'Middle class women tend to regard labor as some kind of character test - probably because they are exam oriented. Naturally they are more popular with the staff than migrant women who have no anglo-saxon inhibitions about making a fuss.'

Many migrants cannot afford to see a general practitioner,

and are obliged instead to seek treatment in the Outpatients Sections of public hospitals where there is no fee, as in Tasmania for example, or a nominal fee. The Migrant Study by Mrs. J. McCaughey<sup>108</sup> showed that less than a quarter of households headed by Greek or Italian migrants with 6 or less years' residence in Australia had medical insurance, and only a half of those where the head had been a Greek or Italian migrant with 6-10 years' residence in Australia. On the other hand, households headed by migrants from Northern Europe were insured at a roughly comparable rate to that of non-migrants.

These figures are confirmed by the Melbourne study People in Poverty,<sup>109</sup> which found that over 75 per cent of the Italians and Greeks who arrived since 1960 were uninsured, and 98 per cent of the Greeks who arrived in the eighteen months before the survey were in the same position. The financial insecurity which this lack of medical insurance necessarily brings in its train may be attributed to several factors: the lower earning power already noted, lower level of social participation, but more particularly, lower educational and of course, linguistic competence of migrants from southern Europe. According to Dr. Scotton

'The voluntary insurance scheme is a highly complex system, and the combination of a lack of English and low educational level militate against an understanding of its mysteries.'<sup>110</sup>

At a seminar on 'The Migrant and the Community' chaired by Dr. C. Price, some aspects of the medical insurance of migrants were discussed by the panel of academics, social workers, migrant group representative, clergymen, and some other interested persons. It was stated that the Commonwealth Health Department was concerned

that nearly 75 per cent of all migrants had no hospital and medical benefit cover. Although they were entitled to free hospital and medical benefits for the first two months, less than one-third joined a fund. There are a number of reasons for this situation. First, there is a lack of knowledge because of a lack of an 'information officer' who can translate the conditions of membership. Secondly, again because of the language problem, of obtaining refunds, and thirdly, again because of the language problem, the scheme is too difficult for the migrants to understand and operate. Moreover, it was stated that the health schemes (H.B.A., M.B.F., etc.) were unwilling to co-operate with migrants.

'They are not prepared to meet migrants on arrival. They are not prepared to give the first two months free but insist that the migrant pay the first month on arrival and then they will give two months free.'<sup>111</sup>

The panel suggested that the Commonwealth should finance the two-month free period and extend it until the migrant finds a job.

This situation is probably not as bad as in the United States, since emergency patients can be admitted to a public hospital without insurance and prior payment, and invoiced after treatment on a means-tested basis. However, even after admission to hospital, there is a danger of inadequate treatment or incorrect diagnosis and treatment. The Federal Task Force investigating the problems of migrants in New South Wales reported that

'A majority of immigrants living in Sydney receive inadequate hospital treatment because they cannot speak English fluently.'<sup>112</sup>

Moreover, eight out of ten migrant patients were in need of interpreter services.

'The language barrier was especially severe at psychiatric hospitals where patients were either discharged prematurely or kept for a greater length of time than was necessary.' 113

Of the twenty-six major general hospitals in Sydney, only one had a pool of interpreters. Three considered that their needs were adequately covered by doctors and staff, and eighteen expressed a need for trained interpreter staff.

In December 1972 the Labor Government came to power with a mandate to introduce a national Health Insurance Programme,<sup>114</sup> which would automatically provide insurance cover for the one million persons, largely newly arrived migrants, poorer migrants and poorer Australians, who at present have no cover. However, this programme was not passed by a hostile Senate, and has become the subject of great public controversy. Even if it were to be introduced, migrant participation in medical treatment would still, without doubt, suffer in cases where a language barrier is present, and from a cultural barrier in the form of a deficiency of information necessary to maximise the benefit of such a scheme.

At this point, it might be argued that the low participation of migrants in medical treatment is attributable not only to language difficulties but also to prejudice on the part of medical staff, and medical benefits staff. Dr. Eric G. Saint takes the view that doctors may have something to answer in this regard.

'It is almost superfluous to say that language is the major barrier to the establishment of smooth and harmonious doctor-patient rapport; for ignorance of European languages and lack of interest in non-Anglo-Saxon cultures we ourselves must

accept some responsibility.<sup>115</sup>

Not all medical practitioners are indifferent to alien languages and cultures however. It has been reported that some doctors in Sydney are learning Japanese,<sup>116</sup> while an informal observation of adult education language classes will reveal the presence of some doctors. With regard to this particular criticism, we must observe that prejudice may confront the migrant in any area of participation, but it is only when the linguistic barrier is removed that prejudice can be attacked.

#### Migrants and the Law

If migrants fall ill at a higher incidence than native-Australians, then we must recognize also that they appear before a court at a lower incidence, although higher than that of migrants from the British Isles.

The crime rates covering migrants as compared with the Australian-born population were :

<u>Convictions per 100,000 males</u> <sup>117</sup>			
<u>Year</u>	<u>Overseas Born</u>	<u>British Isles Born</u>	<u>Australian Born</u>
1968	154	128	226
1969	176	166	248
1970	178	146	255

Thus, migrants tend to be convicted by Australian courts less often than native Australians. When we talk about 'migrants' we must of course call to mind again the warning of Dr. Smolicz, that 'migrants' are an extremely diverse collection of people, with



often perhaps no more in common with one another than the situation of finding themselves living in Australia, which they do in extremely diverse ways. As we shall see later when we examine policy implications of immigration, some claim to have found fulfilment, some have not and have left. Some have achieved higher levels of participation in this society than the one from which they came, while many again have not. Curiously, as we shall also see, some identify quite strongly with Australia even though they participate only in an ethnic community. But we have not been able to concern ourselves with individual cases of loneliness, torment, suicide, or of happiness, success and identification.

Our survey of the evidence of participation by non-native English-speaking migrants in Australian society has indicated quite clearly that a deficiency in the English language depresses participation. Our conceptual understanding derived from Part I of this work indicates that language and culture are always intimately related, so that a linguistic barrier can also be assumed to reinforce a second barrier composed of culture - 'ideas and their attached values'. The amounts of linguistic competence and cultural knowledge that are required before an individual migrant can enter into participation to the same extent as a native-born Australian are thus the linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation.

# FOOTNOTES

1. F. Campbell, 'Asian Students in Australia', in Harold Throssell, ed., Ethnic Minorities in Australia, (Sydney : Australian Council of Social Service, 1968), p. 22.
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3. J. Lyng, FRGS, Non-Britishers in Australia (Melbourne : Macmillan, in association with Melbourne University Press, 1927). Lyng documents the extraordinary significance of the contribution of the tiny non-British component in Australian society to that date.
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5. For a discussion of motives for migration see N.O.P. Pyke, 'Some Reflections on Italian Immigration into Australia', Australian Quarterly, XVIII, No. 4 (Dec. 1946), pp. 35-44, and Leslie L. Simon, 'Some Occupational Aspects of Immigration from two selected countries', Australian Quarterly, Vol. 43 no. 4 (Dec. 1971), pp. 82-92.
6. James Jupp, Arrivals and Departures, (Melbourne : Cheshire-Lansdowne, 1966); figures from table 13, p. 184.
7. C.A. Price 'Migrants in Australian Society', in Anatomy of Australia, H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh's Third Commonwealth Study Conference, (Melbourne; Sun Books, 1969), quoted by Smolicz, loc.cit., p. 44.
8. Jerzy Zubrzycki, Immigrants in Australia, (Melbourne : Melbourne University Press on behalf of the Australian National University, 1960), pp. 57-63.
9. Jean Martin, Community and Identity, Refugee Groups in Adelaide, (Canberra : Australian National University Press, 1972).
10. Australian, November 14, 1973. It must be noted that the Immigration Department no longer keeps a record of the race or colour of immigrants to Australia.
11. R.T. Appleyard, 'Immigration and National Development', in Roberts, op.cit., pp. 14-19. See also R.T. Appleyard, British Emigration to Australia, (Canberra : Australian National University Press, 1964).

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13. Jean Martin, *op.cit.*, p. 10.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
15. Canadian Report, *op.cit.*, p. xxiv.
16. P.Y. Medding, *From Assimilation to Group Survival, a Political and Sociological Study of an Australian Jewish Community*, (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1968), and also Charles A. Price, assisted by Lillian Wilson and Elizabeth Tyler, *Jewish Settlers in Australia* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1964).
17. Martin, *op.cit.*, p. 9.
18. Phillip L. Rich, 'Australia's Immigration Policy', in Roberts, *op.cit.*, p. 10.
19. For a brief summary, see Martin, *op.cit.*, p. 5., or for a definitive discussion of assimilation, see Charles Price, 'The Study of Assimilation', in J.A. Jackson, (ed.), *Sociological Studies 2, Migration*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).
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23. Jean I. Martin, 'Migration and Social Pluralism', in *How Many Australians? Immigration and Growth*, Proceedings of the 37th Summer School, A.I.P.S. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1971).
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26. Ibid., p. 44.
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28. R.F. Henderson, A. Harcourt, and R.J.A. Harper, People in Poverty : A Melbourne Survey, (Melbourne : Cheshire for the Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne, 1970). Table is from figures provided in Table 8.2, p. 125.
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30. From information given, ibid., Table 8.6, p. 137.
31. Ibid., p. 144.
32. C.A.Price, in Throssell, op. cit., p. 104.
33. Ibid., p. 104.
34. James Jupp, op.cit., p. 45.
35. National Times, September 24-29, 1973.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. A.F. Davies, Essays in Political Sociology, (Melbourne : Cheshire, 1972).
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48. See C.A. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1963).
49. Davies, op. cit., p. 69.
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51. Davies, op. cit., p. 70.
52. Ibid., p. 71.
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56. Ibid., p. 81.
57. Petrolas, op. cit., quoted by Davies, op. cit., pp. 77-78. See also Niki Savva, 'Greeks 'Are Own Worst Enemies' '. The Australian, December 31, 1973.
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61. Ibid., p. 79.
62. Ibid., p. 81.
63. The number of non-citizens living in Australia has been estimated to be one million, according to Senator D. McClelland. Canberra Times, September 12, 1973.
64. Davies, op. cit., p. 81.
65. Quoted by Davies, op. cit., p. 80.
66. Dr. Smolicz, describes them as '... empty shells, now devoid of their original cultural meaning', Smolicz, op.cit., p. 58. See also Jean I. Martin, Community and Identity, op.cit.
67. (Canberra : Australian National University, 1967).
68. Ibid., p. 101.
69. Ibid., p. 101.
70. Ibid., p. 101.
71. Ibid., p. 75.
72. Ibid., p. 124.
73. Ibid., p. 122-125.
74. (Canberra: Australian National University, 1964).
75. Zubrzycki, op.cit., from Table 29, p. 143.
76. Ibid., Table 29, p. 143.
77. Ibid., p. 144.
78. Ibid., p. 144.

79. Ibid., p. 146.
80. Ibid., p. 149.
81. Ibid., p. 150, from Advocate, 18th August, 1961.
82. See Martin, Community and Identity.
83. Zubrzycki, ibid., p. 152.
84. Ibid., p. 154.
85. Ibid., pp. 154-5.
86. The issue of whether they should or should not be is not relevant to this subject.
87. Ibid., From Table 31, p. 157.
88. Ibid., p. 158, (Emphasis mine). There is some further discussion of this matter in Gilson and Zubrzycki, op.cit., pp. 103-106.
89. An amendment to the Australian Citizenship Bill which would have allowed people taking out citizenship not to renounce all other allegiances was defeated in the Senate in 1973. It had been recommended unanimously by a Committee of the Immigration Advisory Council on Citizenship. Canberra Times, September 12, 1973.
90. Zubrzycki, ibid., p. 159.
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94. Ibid., p. 129.
95. Ibid., p. 132.
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101. Ignacy C. Listwan, 'Paranoid States : Social and Cultural Aspects', Medical Journal of Australia, Vol.I, (1956), pp. 776-778; see also, by the same author, 'Mental Disorders in Migrants : Further Study', Medical Journal of Australia, Vol. I, (1959), pp. 566-568.
102. Ibid., p. 777.
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## CHAPTER 2

### THE PARTICIPATION OF ABORIGINES

#### IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

##### I. Introduction

In this Chapter we will examine the influence of language and culture on the nature and type of participation by Aborigines in white Australian society. It must be understood from the outset that we are making no assumption that Aborigines should or should not participate. Our assumption or hypothesis, more accurately, is that there are linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation in Australian society and that Aborigines do not possess them in the fields of economics, politics, social relations and relations with governments. The main alternative hypothesis, that low levels of participation are caused by racial prejudice, will be examined later. The two explanations are not, of course, mutually exclusive.

It was believed for many years that the Aborigines were recent immigrants to Australia, but it now seems certain that the initial immigrations took place more than 16,000 years ago.<sup>1</sup> The Aborigines are classified physically as Australoids and are distinct from the three main groups of Man : Caucasoid (typically Europeans), Negroid (typified by African Negroes) and Mongoloid (typified by Chinese).

There is palaeontological evidence indicating that the Aborigines migrated to Australia from the North.<sup>2</sup> Isolated groups of

people in Asia and the Western Pacific bear a physical resemblance. These include some hill tribes in Southern India, the Veddas of Sri Lanka, and the Sakai of Malaysia, while traces may be found of Australoid groups in the Celebes and in New Guinea, and in Java many thousands of years ago.

Aborigines from different regions of Australia show physical differences, which are believed to have resulted from the influence of environment and also genetic variations. Some tribes living along the northern coast had a long history of sporadic contact with the people of the Indonesian Archipelago, but the great majority underwent a period of isolation from the outside world which lasted until the arrival of Europeans.

The Tasmanian Aborigines were a physically distinct group from the Australian Aborigines. The means by which they arrived in Tasmania have never been ascertained. Though it is commonly believed that they walked across what later became Bass Strait, it is also possible that they came by canoe from the New Hebrides, with the inhabitants of which they bore some resemblance.<sup>3</sup> As a people, they failed to withstand the pressures and persecutions of the Europeans and became extinct in 1876. The cultures of the Australian Aborigines and the Tasmanian Aborigines had very little in common, which suggests a lack of contact between the two peoples.

The Aborigines of Australia have been nomadic and were scattered in groups throughout the continent. Before the arrival of the Europeans, the total population of Aborigines was estimated to be 300,000.<sup>4</sup> Between 1788 and 1880, it is estimated that that number

was decreased by almost three-quarters.<sup>5</sup> This reduction in numbers was caused by guns, poison, punitive expeditions and the effect of diseases (smallpox, influenza, measles and tuberculosis) introduced by the Europeans, with the additional influence of liquor, unbalanced diet and psychological problems.

Before the coming of the Europeans, the Aborigines were organised in complex social structures, the largest unit of which being the tribe. It is estimated that there were about 500 tribes, with a membership ranging between 100 and 1500 and averaging about 500 to 600.<sup>6</sup> It is important to notice that the tribes were always defined linguistically.

'An aboriginal tribe', writes Professor Bell, 'is a group of people who speak the same language or dialects of that language, who have a unity of social customs, who inhabit and own a definite area of territory. But it is sometimes impossible to tell whether a particular group is a tribe, a subtribe, a local group, or a combination of tribes. This is because of real differences of dialect within a group or because contiguous tribes sometimes have marked similarities in language and customs.'<sup>7</sup>

For the Aboriginal society, then, as with every other human society, the boundaries are drawn in terms of common language and culture within an area of territory, as we have noted in Part I. The ideal conditions under which the relationship of these three elements could be observed have long vanished: the Aborigine has largely lost his land and is in the process of losing his language and culture. Nonetheless, it will be possible to study the effects of the remnants of his language and culture upon his relationship with the industrialised society of Europeans which now surrounds him.

Firstly, however, what is the linguistic status of Australia's

present day Aboriginal population? It is unfortunate that the Commonwealth Census obtains no information about the linguistic situation of the Aborigines, nor, indeed, of the European population (though in the case of the latter group this deficiency may be rectified in the future).<sup>8</sup> With regard to absolute numbers, the Aboriginal population is as follows

Aboriginal Population Census	1966*
New South Wales	14,219
Victoria	1,790
Queensland	19,003
South Australia	5,505
Western Australia	18,439
Northern Territory	21,119
Australia (including Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory)	80,207

Source: Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, No. 58, 1972, (Canberra : Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1972), p. 141.

\* The figures relate to those persons who described themselves in the 1966 Census as being '50 per cent or more Aboriginal, or simply 'Aboriginal'. ... it has not been possible to differentiate between persons who are 50 per cent Aboriginal from those who are more than 50 per cent Aboriginal'.

Professor Jones<sup>9</sup> had discussed in detail the difficulties in arriving at an accurate estimate of the Aboriginal population. One of these was Section 127 of the Australian Constitution which

stated that

'in reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, of any State or other part of the Commonwealth, aboriginal natives shall not be counted.' <sup>10</sup>

This constitutional provision was repealed by referendum on 27 May 1967. Although this section did inhibit the obtaining of accurate numbers various estimates were made. These indicated an increase in the number of Aborigines from 60,000 in 1921 to the present figure. Within this pattern of moderate growth, there have been two distinct trends: a rapid increase in the number of people of mixed blood, and a decline in the number of full-blooded Aborigines,<sup>11</sup> which since the 1950s, however, appears to be on the increase again. The people of mixed-blood, or Dark People<sup>12</sup> as they are sometimes known, are the most rapidly increasing group (excluding the effects of immigration) in the Australian population, such that by the year 2000, the number of people of Aboriginal descent is estimated by Professor Rowley to attain 250,000 to 300,000.<sup>13</sup>

The geographical distribution of Aborigines throughout Australia may be visualised in terms of a boundary separating the Aborigines of less than half descent from those of more than half descent: the dividing line runs approximately from Esperance Bay to Carnarvon in Western Australia and from Fowler's Bay in South Australia to north of Cooktown in Queensland. Most of the people of mixed blood live south-west and south-east of these boundaries, while most of the Aborigines of full-blood live to the north of them. This boundary corresponds to the pattern of settlement; to the south-west and south-east are the urban areas and the regions of intensive farming, to the north the land is sparsely settled and cattle-raising and

mining are the only industries.

The distribution of language skills appears to follow the same pattern. To the north of that same boundary, the traditionally spoken indigenous languages are found, though many already have been lost, as have those of Tasmania. As contact with Europeans increased, to the south-west and south-east of the boundary, where the Aborigines of mixed blood are mostly found, the lingua franca is English.

Referring to Western Australia, Dr. Schapper has written that

'... most Aboriginal adults are actually or functionally illiterate and unable to express themselves effectively,' <sup>14</sup>

but this may be true also of the whole of Australia. The Aboriginal language has often been lost in favour of a poor level of English.

In the words of Dr. Capell,

'The study of communication between 'black' and 'white' in Australia has been mainly a story of the use of some sort of 'pidgin' jargon based on English.' <sup>15</sup>

Although social workers, teachers and many others of those whose work involves contact with Aborigines have perceived, as we shall subsequently note, the very low level of English language competence among the Aboriginal adults and children, no complete picture is available. This is in strong contrast with the study of Aboriginal languages, which have received intensive and painstaking attention from a number of scholars. This research has been summarised by Capell in his article 'Language in Aboriginal Australia'.<sup>16</sup>

In 1956 Capell established the existence of common vocabulary of less than fifty words, which is, extraordinarily, found throughout the whole of the Australian continent, not in every language, but

over the whole area. It is possible to explain the variation between languages on the basis of fairly widespread phonetic laws. The concentration of the words of this common vocabulary or 'Common Australian' (generally referred to as 'C.A.') lies in the Western Desert region of Western Australia. It is not likely that this region was the cradle of the present day Aboriginal civilization; it is more likely that its present inhabitants must have moved into it later. As well as the C.A. vocabulary, there appears to be a body of 'marginal vocabulary' found in scattered regions around the margins of Australia and occasionally in the centre. It is possible that the early movement of population, which was responsible for this marginal vocabulary or 'Original Australian' (or 'O.A.') was driven to the corners of the continent by a subsequent movement of population which brought with it the Common Australian.

It is thus possible to conceive that, with the exception of some regional vocabularies and some aberrant languages in Northern Australia, Australian languages are a unity, though it may be a unity concealing the fusion of several different sources which cannot now be untangled.

'The most remarkable thing about the languages is that, no matter how much they diverge in grammar or vocabulary, the phonetic basis of the languages is the same all over Australia, except for a few sounds found only in Cape York,<sup>17</sup> and presumably a result of Papuan influence.'

Despite the unity of phonetic basis, many individual languages and dialects are either extinct or on the verge of disappearing.

In the classification of Aboriginal languages made by



Lynette F. Oates and the late W.J. Oates, the following picture emerges.

Analysis of Linguistic Position  
Aboriginal Languages as classified in 'Anthro-  
pological Linguistics.'

Numerous Speakers	144
Lesser Number of Speakers	76
Fewer Speakers	70
Very Few Remaining Speakers	130
Extinct	74
Total	<hr/> 494 <hr/>

Source: Adapted from W.J. and L.F. Oates.<sup>18</sup>

Note: the categories are also ones of research priority, insofar as the greater the risk of extinction, the higher the research priority to interested scholars.

Although our picture of the extent and use of Aboriginal languages is only vague in its details, there can be no question of its broad outline and direction of change. The broad outline is one of a large number of languages sharing a Common Australian vocabulary of phonetics, in use by a diminishing number of people. Approximately two hundred of the five hundred odd languages have now either very few remaining speakers or are extinct. In their place is 'a sort of pidgin' English in which the Aboriginal speakers are, in the vast majority of cases, illiterate.

Although a general picture of the status of the English language among Aborigines is not yet available, some studies have been

made of English among small groups or communities of Aborigines.

One such of these was by E.H. Flint which is described in an article which appeared in English in Australia.<sup>19</sup> Mr. Flint notes that Commonwealth education policy provides for the education of Aboriginal children in the same institutions as other Australians and therefore in the same language. We will consider the matter of Aborigines and education in some detail in a subsequent chapter, but Flint's observations on 'Aboriginal English' are relevant to the understanding of adult participation as well as that of children.

'Aboriginal English differs from Australian English in its phonetics and phonemics, grammar and vocabulary. The differences are sometimes wide enough to impair mutual intelligibility.'<sup>20</sup>

Flint reports on the findings of scholars working under the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, who have classified the communities under study according to whether the vernacular has fallen into disuse, or is in use and where English is used as a second language for communication with non-Aboriginals, and the Torres Island and Cape York Peninsular communities.

The degree of intelligibility to the non-Aboriginal Australian listener of members of groups using either no vernacular or English as a second language varied according to the type of material. Dialogues with the linguist were highly intelligible though with some ideolectal variation, that is, variations in the way language was used. But when talking among themselves, the same informants were intelligible only from a very poor to a fair degree, in a variation that could best be described as a continuum, rather than

a sharp difference. Intelligibility was clearly related to stylistic factors in the speech situation such as the person or persons addressed and the topic of conversation. Stories relating to play activities and the bush, such as hunting and games, were the least intelligible, while conversation relating to school environment was the most intelligible.

Perhaps paradoxically, but highly significantly, the free conversations of the group where English was the second language after the vernacular, were, when taken as a whole, more intelligible than those of the group where use of the vernacular has slipped into disuse. Their limited command of English did, in Flint's view, force the people for whom English was a second language to speak more slowly and to repeat themselves. Among those communities where Aborigines are living as a minority among a European Australian community, the speech differed little linguistically from that of the non-Aboriginal Australians in the same community.

The main cause of variation in intelligibility seems to be phonological rather than lexical or grammatical. Words from the Aboriginal vernaculars do appear, but only in small numbers are they related to situations, i.e. proper names, commands, exclamations and warning calls. A few vocabular cognates are probably of English dialect origin, acquired possibly by the Aborigines through contact with settlers from British dialect areas, e.g. /pinkt/pinked, 'hit' (past tense) and (su:ld/. 'set a dog on'. The Oxford English Dictionary states that pink is 'pugilistic slang' and records examples of its use between 1810 and 1821. Partridge notes that

sool is common in Australian colloquial speech from 1890 onwards.

Some examples of how Aboriginal English differs grammatically from educated Queensland English are shown as follows:

- (a) The plural of nouns is only sometimes marked by /s/ or its morphophonemic variants /z/ or /iz/.
  - /s/ or its morphophonemic variants /z/ or /iz/.
- (b) The possessive is signalled either by word order, without marker /s/, /z/, or by the use of /balon ta/, e.g.,
  - 'grani' elsi pleis/     Granny Elsie's place;
  - 'gon balon' ta edli/     Hedley's gun.
- (c) The third person pronoun feminine is sometimes /si/, sometimes /i/ .
- (d) A first person plural pronominal form, /afala/, a feller, alternates with the English /wi/, we and /as/, us. Except for /ja/ your, and alternating occurrences of /mai/ with /mi/, my , and /iz/ with /i:/, for his, no distinctive possessive pronoun forms exist.
- (e) No relative pronouns are found.
- (f) Future tense is signalled by the auxiliary /gona/, going to; shall and will are not found.
- (g) The indefinite article is sometimes used and sometimes omitted.

However it is not grammatical differences which account for the partial unintelligibility of Aboriginal English. The description of the phonetic and phonemic differences which render Aboriginal

English partially unintelligible are almost impossible to describe without resort to technical terminology, but in non-technical terms may be seen as a lack of contrast between successive loudness peaks, with little pitch contrast. In referring to the group where English is a second language Flint observed that

'This tendency to monotone doubtlessly resulted from the unsuccessful attempts of informants to master the rhythm patterns of English, and from the many interrupted utterances arising from their uncertainty concerning its grammar and vocabulary.' <sup>21</sup>

When discussing the difficulties of a speaker of Australian English in understanding the meaning of sentences in Aboriginal English, it is essential to realise that the difficulties are mutual. As we shall see in the next chapter, Aborigines, including those whose only language is Aboriginal English, do suffer extreme difficulties in understanding Australian English. The economic, political and social implications of this linguistic barrier are enormous, but in some respect not analogous with the language problems of migrants. Among bilingual Aboriginal communities, we find a special kind of bilingualism, which may in Ferguson's terminology be called diglossia.<sup>22</sup> A mixed form of English tends to replace the vernacular in daily use. Although predominantly English in vocabulary and recognizably similar in grammatical structure, it is so different in its phonemes and rhythm patterns as to be largely unintelligible to non-Aboriginal listeners, according to Flint. Intelligibility varies according to intelligence, personality and education, for although it may be defunct, the influence of the vernacular is still present.

'Diglossia' obviously describes the situation of the Aboriginal English in these communities. Diglossia is a special kind of

bilingualism in which a language has two distinct forms, 'high' and 'low', which are used for different purposes and in different situations. Moreover, diglossia is a highly stable language situation, which can endure for centuries, disappearing only with the introduction of more widespread literacy and communications. A similar situation has been observed in Jamaica, where standard English is used in formal situations, while in familiar situations, the local inhabitants use a language which they call 'the dialect'. The two extremes exist, side by side, with a continuum of variation which is found in the community and also in the speech of each speaker. The ability of each speaker to switch between the two forms varies with educational and social background.<sup>23</sup>

An identical situation exists with regard to the ambivalent attitude of speakers in Haiti towards Parisian French and Haitian Créole.<sup>24</sup> On the one hand, they pride themselves on the knowledge of Parisian French which they regard as appropriate for addressing foreigners and educated natives, while on the other, Haitian Créole is dear to them as their true mother tongue and the language of familiar use.

Flint draws attention to the diglossia of Aborigines and the situation which exists on Norfolk Island, where the islanders are proud of the form of British English which they speak while at the same time remaining sentimentally attached to their familiar form of English which originated in contact between the English of the Bounty mutineers and Tahitian on Pitcairn Island. Referring to an unpublished report by the New South Wales State Department of

Education, Flint states that the attempts made between 1912 and 1929 to suppress the lower forms of English in the Norfolk Island schools, which not only failed, but produced

'harmful social consequences', since it ...  
'was identified with their origin, history,  
and sense of individuality as a people.' <sup>25</sup>

Flint takes the view that when the official government policy of social and cultural assimilation of the Aborigines into Australian society has been carried out, Aboriginal English will cease to exist. Certainly its prominence is reduced in those Aboriginal communities which are surrounded by white Australian society and with which they are in contact. Where Aborigines live in concentrated communities with infrequent contact with non-Aborigines, the use of the dialect persists. While this conclusion is undoubtedly valid with regard to the persistence or otherwise of Aboriginal English, we must add also that its use is also profoundly influencing the contacts between Aboriginal and white Australian society.

The general principles of Aboriginal English and its uses are also identified by another writer, T.E. Dutton.<sup>26</sup> Writing in the Journal of English Linguistics, Mr. Dutton notes the linguistic characteristics of a variety of informal English spoken by the Aboriginal children living on Palm Island Aboriginal Settlement, North Queensland. This form of English is limited to one social group, detribalised and semidetribalised Aborigines. It is the common primary language or mother tongue of a community whose members once spoke a number of Aboriginal vernaculars. Functionally, this language is confined in its use to the members of this community

in their free and informal conversations. When talking to non-Aboriginal Australians they adjust their speech as best they can to standard Australian English, reports Dutton. Their success in this depends on how much education they have had. It is curious that the people of Palm Island deny that they speak in anything other than English, although some of the elders admitted to Dutton that the children spoke a 'lingo' among themselves, though they did so without the approval of the elders.

This variety of English may be regarded as substandard, as it is in many respects diglossic with standard Australian English. Palm Island Aboriginal English is distinct from other varieties of Australian English, e.g. Torres Straits Island English, or Italian English, yet it does share a high degree of similarity with the Aboriginal English spoken in the communities at Yarrabah, Cherbourg and Dunwich, which, in the case of the latter two, is over 1000 km. distant.

Another point made by Dutton is that Palm Island Aboriginal English is not a pidgin, as it does not have the 'reduced' phonological grammatical and lexical structure common to pidgin languages. Except for minor differences, it has the same grammatical and lexical structure as standard Australian English, yet it does have some characteristic features which seriously impair its intelligibility for the non-Aboriginal Australian listener, which bears out the findings of Flint. (Mr. Dutton was also a member of the Queensland Speech Survey research team).

The grammatical and lexical differences of Australian English



and Aboriginal English are the same as those identified by Flint. In themselves they are not sufficient to seriously impair intelligibility for the non-Aboriginal listener. The cause of unintelligibility is the phonological manifestation of these grammatical and lexical features, such that meanings are often masked.

In this community on Palm Island, the Aboriginal languages are dying out. Communication in Aboriginal vernaculars is limited to the few remaining speakers with an active knowledge of their tribal language, believed by Dutton to be approximately 2.5 per cent of the total population. Of the special informants in the survey, only the parents of one were bilingual.

'Both these parents speak English besides their individual and different Aboriginal vernaculars, but their son did not have an active knowledge of either of the two languages of his parents, though he asserted he had some passive knowledge of them.' 27

English has become the principal medium of communication on the Island. It is the language of government, teaching and social purposes.

'Most adult inhabitants have little opportunity for improving their English, since their contact with non-Aboriginal Australian speakers is, on the average, small.' 28

Thus we see that the English of Aborigines is not standard Australian English, but a dialect from which adults can switch only with limited ability.

It would not be correct to believe that this language shift is not accompanied by a cultural change given the relationship between language and culture as we have conceptualised it. Indeed it is part of the most profound kind of change experienced by any

group of people on earth, the change from stone age to industrialised mass consumer society. In accordance with our approach, however, we shall observe first the effects of language and culture on participation in various areas of life.

## II. Economic Participation

What is the effect of the language skills and cultural knowledge of Aborigines upon the nature and extent of their participation in the Australian economy?

The most outstanding feature of Aboriginal employment is that it is rural. Aborigines comprise less than one per cent of Australia's population, but in certain parts of country areas, their numbers form a significant presence. This is because European Australians prefer to live in urban areas (towns of over 1,000 people) to the extent of 82 per cent, while just over 23 per cent of Aboriginal Australians live in urban areas, that is 77 per cent live away from the urban areas.<sup>29</sup>

In a section of his article on 'Aboriginals in Australian Society',<sup>30</sup> Professor Rowley expands on this theme. In the settled areas, Aborigines are entitled to award wages the same as for other workers. But many Aborigines are driven by circumstances into seasonal work, where payment is related to market prices, or employment conditions are not enforced, or both. In a survey<sup>31</sup> of rural and country town part-Aboriginal households in New South Wales in 1965, which was a drought year, only 60 per cent of males over fifteen years were working and only thirteen per cent of the 15-19 age group

were still at school. After allowing for those receiving sickness pensions, twenty per cent could be regarded as unemployed, that is, about ten times the national average.

The weekly income of the cross section in this survey, at a time when the basic wage was approximately \$33, was as follows:

At school, no income	4 per cent
Under \$30	28 per cent
\$30 - 45	34 per cent
Over \$45	12 per cent
Earnings unknown	22 per cent

By world standards, this is not low, nor is it by the standards of Aborigines based on the settlements of northern Australia. By the standards of southern Australia, it is, in Professor Rowley's words, 'poverty enough'. As with many other low-income earning people, there was a good deal of evidence of uninhibited expenditure. Twenty per cent of the Aborigines in the survey owned some kind of motor vehicle, which was necessary for following the harvest of seasonal crops, but only one per cent owned any other tools of trade. Eight per cent owned or were paying for some piece of real estate and eight per cent owned property valued at more than \$50. Current employment within the group in the survey was

Out of Work Force	40 per cent
Unskilled Work	46 per cent
Semi-Skilled Construction Work	less than 5 per cent
Skilled Rural	2 per cent
Unknown	4 per cent.

Source: Rowley, op.cit. p. 127.

No other category reached one per cent. None had a managerial position; less than one per cent were foremen or clerks. Only one per cent claimed a recognized qualification in any field of employment.

Another view of the economic participation of Aborigines is provided by the Survey carried out by Mr. R.A. Smee, Regional Director of the Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service, as it was then called, in New South Wales.<sup>32</sup> The great majority (79 per cent) of the people included in the Survey<sup>33</sup>, 442 in all, were claimants for unemployment benefit, the others being under referral to jobs. The distribution of the Aborigines in the survey showed the greatest concentration in the North Coast district, with the next largest concentrations in the Far West and Riverina districts, while 42 were in the Sydney metropolitan area.

Over sixty per cent of the males were registered as unskilled manual workers, and one third as rural workers, and largely seasonal and temporary. Of the females, over seventy per cent were registered as private domestic servants, while 13 per cent were classified as semi-skilled factory workers, and 10 per cent as rural workers. Only 90 of the 442 had previously worked in permanent positions.

The majority of the males, 68 per cent, had not proceeded further than primary school, while most of the remainder had gone no further than first or second year secondary level. Female Aborigines had proceeded a little further educationally, as 28 per cent had gone to second year secondary school. As with males, these were mostly younger people. Only eight persons, five males and three females had the Intermediate Certificate (Fourth Year Secondary) and

none had any higher qualification.

The most common reason for lack of placement in a suitable position was distance, that is, difficulty in travelling daily, or moving, to an area of employment. This applied both to males and to females, and was at its most acute in the period between crops. The next most important reason was a combination of personal characteristics, a cultural factor, which was described as

'Poor personal characteristics and attitudes to employment, for example, untidy appearance, bad behaviour, lack of enthusiasm for and bad attitudes towards work ...' 34

The same two sets of factors applied, in the same order, to the Aboriginal women in the survey. It emerges from the survey, then, that Aborigines seeking employment in New South Wales in 1964 were confined to rural, unskilled and domestic avenues. Only 4 of the 442 persons were 'Skilled Manual', one was 'Clerical, Commerical or Administrative', and none was 'Professional or Semi-Professional'. Moreover, their search for employment was marked by a lack of enthusiasm, which is perhaps a reflection of the opportunities available to them. Although lack of education was frequently cited as a reason for unemployment, language difficulties were not. The Aborigines of the urban areas all had, it may be assumed, some knowledge of basic standard English. Only four were placed in clerical or administrative positions, while the others were candidates for positions not requiring literacy.

In Victoria, a similar pattern emerges, according to information collected by Mr. P.E. Felton, Superintendent of the Aborigines Welfare Board of Victoria and Dr. D.E. Barwick of the Australian

National University.<sup>35</sup> Insofar as that their information is not confined to job-seekers only, it does show participation by Aborigines in some of the more skilled occupations, but still the broad picture remains the same.

Employment Status of Aboriginal  
Males in Victoria.

	<u>Rural Areas</u> <u>(i)</u>	<u>Melbourne</u> <u>Area (ii)</u>
Entrepreneur	5	2
White Collar (including High School students)	9	11
Skilled	22	11
Semi-Skilled	87	12
Unskilled (regular)	137	62
Unskilled (casual)	148	52
Pensioners	72	9
Unemployed	160	40
No Response	30	16
	<hr/> 598	<hr/> 206

Source : P.E. Felton, ibid., pp. 92-93.

Notes : (i) Figures collected by P.E. Felton, 1966.

(ii) Figures collected by Dr. D.E. Barwick, 1960-62.

Victorian Aborigines are placed in similar positions to those in New South Wales, and the cultural problems confronting their placement and advancement are the same.

'Victorian Aborigines are not motivated towards any alternation in their work status ... Few Aborigines have been so motivated as to complete sufficient education to enable them to qualify for technical or professional training.' 36

Moreover, there are strong pressures for the children to leave school at the earliest date possible, sometimes to undertake employment, but often to 'just wander about, visiting relatives and taking casual work sporadically'.<sup>37</sup> As noted already, wages are now determined by award and are officially no different from those of any other workers, but in effect, they are often lower. Some workers, particularly crop pickers, are encouraged to become 'independent sub-contractors', thus placing themselves outside the scope of an award.

Victorian Aborigines, in general, do not save their wages, but spend them instead on consumer goods, food, liquor, taxi fares, gambling, deposits on cars and television sets on terms. Despite equal wages, the living standard of Aborigines in Victoria has suffered from the lack of cultural knowledge about resisting the temptations of consumer society. In common with poor people in other rich societies, their participation as consumers has been characterised by an extreme vulnerability to the temptations of ill-advised expenditures.

Although industrial unions support the Aboriginal 'cause', Felton notes that 'union organisers are not met going amongst Aboriginal workers', who are not, as a result, highly unionised. Seasonal work has never been strongly unionised moreover.

As in New South Wales, in Victoria the most salient factor working against Aboriginal employment is not lack of language competence, but, in the view of Felton, lack of motivation combined with lack of education, which would undoubtedly embrace lack of English language competence.

Prejudice on the part of employers is often present but there are also employers who speak highly of their Aboriginal employees; unfortunately, no proportions are mentioned. However some information on employers' attitudes towards Aboriginal employment is available, both from direct reporting by employers, and from some reasearch carried out by F. Gale and I. Lewis,<sup>38</sup> who concluded that some employers, either through hearsay or experience, were unwilling to take on Aboriginal employees, and this was 27 out of 186 or 14 per cent of all employers interviewed. Another 14 per cent, or 26 out of 186, said they would like to employ Aborigines. The other 72 per cent had presumably no view. Many of the unsatisfactory relationships were recognized, no doubt, from both sides of employer and Aboriginal employee. Absenteeism and inebriation are widely held to be working characteristics of all Aborigines. Mr. D.L. Busbridge,<sup>39</sup> Acting Director of the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, South Australia, has discussed these two problems from a sympathetic point of view. Some attempts have been made to solve them but, at its basis the question is one of 'cultural background differing from that of the European society', upon which the Aborigines depend.

'The largest remaining group of (full-blood) Aborigines living off a reserve exists in the north west of the State. They are living almost tribally, are illiterate and unable to support themselves without assistance.' 40

The needs of sustenance compel even tribesmen, whose traditional economy has been destroyed as we shall observe, into the role of customer, and therefore participant in the work-force, for which they are psychologically, educationally, culturally, and linguistically ill-fitted, to say the least.



Moving away from the cities and country towns, we find that the Aboriginal people have more acute employment problems. During 1965 and 1966 a number of Aborigines from the Ernabella Mission, in the desert regions of the north west corner of South Australia, were employed as fruit pickers in the Barmera district on the Upper Murray, also in South Australia. Reports as to the progress of the employees were variable, but three of the employers indicated that they would probably have the men again. Although no information of the subsequent situation is available, W.H. Edwards<sup>41</sup> wrote of the experiment that any future consideration of such a project must take into account the following:

- '1. Pitjantjatjara is still the dominant tongue amongst the Ernabella people and use of English is limited.
2. Problems of social and cultural adjustment.'

(et.al.)<sup>42</sup>

Although work standards fell towards the end of the harvest period (7-8 weeks) Mr. Edwards reported that one of the reasons for the success of the project was the fact of Church membership, and the use of their own language in readings, prayers and services which gave 'a sense of belonging' and 'helped maintain self-respect'.<sup>43</sup> In this connection, language-maintenance among Aborigines appears to have the same effects as that which it does among migrants. It is not unreasonable to suppose conversely, that lack of language-maintenance among Aborigines is responsible for the same types of personality problems as Dr. Listwan has reported among migrants.

Some interesting observations about the employment of

Aborigines in the bauxite mining industry at Weipa in North Queensland have been made by J.E. Tonkin, Chief Personnel Office of Comalco Aluminium.<sup>44</sup> Award wages are paid to Aborigines as required by law, but absenteeism, of which we have already heard, is a problem in Weipa. It was at the time of writing no less than it was 7-8 years ago, and averaged around 15 per cent of ordinary working time. If normal working discipline was enforced, no Aborigine would be employed, writes Mr. Tonkin. In the main, Aborigines are confined to unskilled work. A few are semi-skilled but plans for promotion to more skilled positions such as tradesmens' assistants have been placed in abeyance. It seems that the 'cultural background' of the Aborigines is too strong a force to enable them to be of much use to the aluminium industry at Weipa. This contrasts with the experience of a company employing Thursday Islanders on the construction of the Hamersley railway. This group pleased and impressed their employers to a considerable extent and in some ways they were superior to European employees. Yet language competence affected their performance also. A company memorandum noted:

'They do not like being rushed and do not appreciate being bawled out. In such events they stammer and revert quickly to speaking their native tongue.'<sup>45</sup>

Another mining enterprise is the one conducted by The Broken Hill Proprietary Company Limited on Groote Eylandt,<sup>46</sup> where, as in Weipa, language difficulties depress Aboriginal participation. Here the Aborigines are speakers of either Anindilyaugwa, the language of the Balamumu or 'those of the sea' or Nunggubuyu, the language of a mainland people. Their only formal education has been that of

the Mission schools, which through lack of staff and facilities, was described as 'elementary lower-primary'. The Aborigines have thus only 'a poor command of the English language, most being virtually illiterate by European standards'.<sup>47</sup> The company makes special concessions to the Aborigines to allow for language difficulties but no more than those made to 'New Australians'. Perhaps, paternalistically, the B.H.P. Company concerns itself with integrating the social relations among its employees out of working hours.

'The relationships between Aborigines and Europeans both on and off the job are easy and friendly, but, unfortunately, the Aborigines do tend to form a separate social group, apparently because of language difficulties and common interests. The ease with which they mix with Europeans, however, does appear to be proportional to their command of English, so that the lack of formal education may be the major obstacle to complete integration.'<sup>48</sup>

Not surprisingly, then, Mr. P. McKenzie of B.H.P. sees the long term progress of the Aboriginal people of Groote Eylandt in terms of

'... the teaching of English at the pre-school stage when children are easily able to learn a new language.'<sup>49</sup>

At this point it may be asked: do Aborigines really want to participate in the various industries of Northern Australia? In the view of one Aborigine, Mr. J. McGinness,<sup>50</sup> they have a

'capacity for development and contribution equal with any other race' ... Northern resources provide ... 'an unprecedented opportunity to bring the Aborigine into the ranks of the modern industrial worker and the other callings to which this opens the door.'<sup>51</sup>

At that time Mr. McGinness was President of the Federal Council for Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. The broad

picture that emerges is one of extremely limited Aboriginal participation in the economic life of Australia. As workers, their participation is largely rural, in either crop picking or cattle raising, and almost invariably unskilled. Aboriginal workers are often absent, generally unenthusiastic, and lacking in motivation. As consumers they spend freely in things from which there is no lasting benefit, and they have little 'consumer resistance'. A sizeable minority of employers are reluctant to employ Aboriginal workers, some of whom have never tried any. Those who have tried to place Aborigines in employment, either as Commonwealth Employment Officers, or clergymen, have all been unanimous in their recognition of the lack of education as a major factor. But there is also something harder to define, usually called 'cultural background', which also works powerfully against Aboriginal advancement in employment. There is also the language factor, remarked upon by all of these writers as one which powerfully prevents Aboriginal participation. Yet, as in the case of the Ernabella mission Aborigines, their own language was a force that unified them and sustained them in their period of work away from the mission. It is not, however, all that simple to 'educate' Aborigines into fitting roles needed by a European society. They themselves are highly resistant to the education of their children, though they do of course, want the material goods that participation in white society can offer, and herein lies the basis of their problem.

A point that has been raised on several occasions is that Aborigines are a potential source of labour in areas where Europeans cannot and will not live and work. This point is made by Peter H. Rogers,<sup>52</sup> and also C.D. Rowley.<sup>53</sup> The assumption is of course, that

sufficient education and cultural change can be induced among the Aborigines such that the necessary levels of skill and motivation are obtained. But this surely would lead the Aborigines to want to live in urban areas as eighty per cent of European Australians do, or in Sydney and Melbourne where nearly half of Australia's present population lives.

### III. Political Participation

Economic participation involves many different kinds of activity: from seeking employment, to casual fruit picking, itinerant carnival employment, and to entering into hire-purchase commitments. So also does political participation possess many different faces: from playing party politics, signing petitions, having conflict with police, to insurrection or civil disobedience. Aboriginal participation in Australian politics has a distinct profile which can be related to language and to culture. A young English doctor on board the First Fleet to Australia in 1788, George Worgan, described the Aborigines he met as an

'active, volatile, unoffending, happy, merry, funny, laughing, good natured, nasty, dirty, race.' 54

The early population of soldiers, settlers and convicts almost wholly from the British Isles did not maintain the good relations developed by Captain Cook with the Aborigines. Governor Arthur Phillip had been instructed

'to endeavour by every means in his power to open an intercourse with the natives and to conciliate their goodwill, requiring all persons under his Government to live in unity and kindness with them.' 55

Relations deteriorated to the extent that fatal attacks and retaliations became common. In 1884 the historian Rusden wrote

'The slaughter of ... every black found by the avenging band became common practice under the assumed sanction of government.' <sup>56</sup>

In Tasmania, as we have noted, all but 300 of the Aborigines were killed, in response to the killing by them of Europeans. These 300 were transported to Flinders Island in Bass Strait, where all but a handful perished, these being returned to the homeland but too late for the race to survive.

The political participation in which both sides met in deadly sorties in which Europeans nearly always, and eventually always, gained the upper hand, drastically reduced Aboriginal numbers. It was in fact, as in the title of Rowley's book, the destruction of Aboriginal society. The publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's On the Origin of Species provided a useful justification for the wholesale slaughter of Aborigines, whose survival as a race was threatened. As the pressures of troubled conscience grew, both in the Colonies and in England, the policies of protection and assimilation emerged.

Between 1850 and 1900,<sup>58</sup> the Aborigines of Victoria were rounded up and placed on reserves. In New South Wales, a number of reserves had been established by the 1880s, while those Aborigines not in the reservations lived wretchedly outside country towns or on country properties. A special commission of enquiry was set up in the 1890s to enquire into the situation of Aborigines in Queensland, and recommended the strict segregation of Aborigines on reserves and

under the guidance of missions. An act of the colonial parliament in 1897 set up reserves and appointed protectors. Aborigines could be employed by Europeans (but not by Chinese). In Western Australia, great powers of law enforcement were given to Justices of the Peace, who were empowered to sentence Aborigines to prison or flogging. In 1905, following a Royal Commission, Western Australia appointed a local protector of allocated reserves, and laid down conditions of Aboriginal employment. Throughout the Colonies, and after federation of the States, Aboriginal policy moved towards standardization. Brutal confrontation, with odds heavily loaded on one side, gave way to regulated life for Aborigines on reserves administered by Christian missionaries. The Aborigine could be placed on a reserve, or removed from it, forcibly, and his visitors required a permit to see him. His children were wards of state and could be removed from him at the discretion of the Chief Protector. He could not vote, drink alcohol, or administer his own financial affairs, while he could marry a European only with official permission.

Although the number of killings and cases of maltreatment of Aborigines was reduced, their participation in European society was minimal. In the 1920s and 1930s they were in demand as a source of cheap labour in the north on cattle stations, while others who lived in squalid camps on the outskirts of towns were discriminated against in shops, cinemas, swimming pools and school. The missions provided a limited amount of formal education, and in State schools the Aborigines received some, but in the Northern Territory, only after 1950.

Of course, at the basis of the policy of protection was the

concept of enforced assimilation. However, as an official policy aim, assimilation was not adopted until 1937. In 1929, J.W. Bleakley,<sup>59</sup> the Queensland Protector of Aborigines, reported to the Commonwealth Government on future planning for Aborigines. His recommendation was assimilation for those in contact with white society and inviolable reserves for tribal people. At a conference of state and federal officials called by the Commonwealth Government in 1937, assimilation was adopted as official policy; part-Aborigines were to be absorbed into the European community, detribalised Aborigines were to be educated, and the rest would remain on their reserves. The effects of the conference were shown in subsequent legislation. In the Northern Territory a Native Affairs Branch was established, and in 1939, Queensland placed all Aborigines under the provisions of workers' compensation, though most of the restrictions of the 1897 Act remained. In 1940 two Aborigines became members of the Aborigines Welfare Board, and in 1941 in Western Australia, the numbers and powers of the district protectors were increased.

During World War II,<sup>60</sup> Aborigines came into contact with many new people, ideas and experiences, either as servicemen, or through contact with servicemen, some of whom were American Negroes. In 1945, Aboriginal station workers in the Port Hedland District organised a series of strikes for an increase of wages. They formed a co-operative to mine alluvial wolfram which Miss Lippmann reports to be still maintaining viability today, despite the

'... extreme disadvantages of lack of literacy',  
and many other problems.<sup>61</sup>

As well as demands for higher wages, Aborigines began to



demand participation in the Australian institutions of government. In 1930, William Cooper, a Victorian Aborigine, collected signatures for a petition to the King to have an Aborigine representative in the House of Representatives. A similar application was made in New South Wales and again in Victoria in 1949 by Pastor (later Sir) Douglas Nicholls, but none was successful.

In 1951 the policy of assimilation was given a more formal statement, to the effect that all Aborigines shall ultimately become the same as all other Australians.<sup>62</sup> Moves in the direction of equal pay and opportunities were legislated, along with moves towards political representation.

Under Section 41 of the Commonwealth Constitution, Aborigines who had the right to vote for 'the more numerous House of Parliament of a State' were in the same situation as other citizens in that they could not be prevented by a Commonwealth law from voting at a Commonwealth election. The Commonwealth Electoral Act provided that only those Aborigines enrolled to vote in the States or who had been members of the defence forces could vote.<sup>63</sup> At the same time, the right of Aborigines to vote in State elections was not clearly established. In Western Australia, a native, in order to vote, was required to hold a Certificate of Citizenship under the Native (Citizenship Rights) Act of 1944.<sup>64</sup> In Queensland, Aborigines, half-castes 'under the Act' and Pacific Islanders, were excluded from voting rights under the Elections Act of 1915.<sup>65</sup> There were no special restrictions on Aboriginal voting rights in New South Wales, Victoria or South Australia. In Tasmania there were no full-blood Aborigines and the

people of mixed descent on the Cape Barren Island Reserve, under an Act of 1945, became ordinary citizens of the State.<sup>66</sup>

The 1951 Conference, faced with the legislative tangle of federal-state relations, simply requested the States to review their electoral laws. With regard to citizenship rights, the Conference took the view that the barriers were not legal but social. It was a matter of gaining the co-operation of the general public with the government towards the aim of the 'ultimate assimilation of our native people.'<sup>67</sup>

As well as voting rights, there is another area of political participation within the governmental system of vital importance to Aborigines: the eligibility for pension, child endowment, maternity allowance rights. Initially, the granting of these was at the discretion of the Director-General of Social Services, who would grant them where desirable 'by reason of character ... intelligence and social development'.<sup>68</sup> In practice it was worked out that those who lived on managed stations did not qualify, even though the New South Wales Minister Clive Evatt pointed out that an invalid might have to leave his home to qualify for a pension, even though he had always paid taxes.<sup>69</sup> Child endowment was granted unless the family was nomadic or already receiving Commonwealth or State support. Officials generally supervised the spending of such money, and Rowley writes that in some cases it probably saved the lives of the children of demoralised parents.<sup>70</sup> Often the pensions and other benefits were paid direct to the institutions in whose care the Aborigines were entrusted, and sometimes even to employers. In the case of unemployment

and sickness benefit, especially where more than normal wages of the Aborigines, payment was almost always avoided.

In 1961, another conference was held. This was the Native Welfare Conference, which was attended by the responsible Ministers and senior officials of all Australian governments. Again, the aim of assimilation was reiterated.

'... all Aborigines and part-Aborigines are expected eventually to attain the same manner of living as other Australians and to live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, as other Australians.' <sup>71</sup>

Such an aim could accommodate the view of the extreme assimilationist view that Aborigines should eventually disappear through absorption. Alternatively, it could be taken to mean no more than a state of general equality.

Rowley believes that the statement leans towards a monolithic view of Australian society

'... of people all wanting the same things in the same way ... the loss of cultural and social autonomy, to be paid for an eventual equality.' <sup>72</sup>

At the time of the Welfare Conference in 1961, which was in the view of some an exercise in public relations,<sup>73</sup> the status of Aboriginal rights varied from State to State. Of the five States and the Northern Territory, four exercised control over Aboriginal property; two required consent to marry; four exercised restrictions on freedom to move; two maintained special conditions of employment, and in two others Aborigines were excluded from wage awards; all

but Victoria had laws against alcohol; four had laws to control cohabitation; three limited the franchise.<sup>74</sup> The basic rationale behind the policy of assimilation is that Aborigines must be prepared to train for full participation in Australian society. How long this process of apprenticeship should take was never stated, nor was the strategy, elimination of native language and culture, discussed.

In 1961, the same year as the Native Welfare Conference, a Select Committee of Government and Opposition members of the Commonwealth Parliament was established, with the purpose of reporting on the need for changes to section 39 of the Commonwealth Electoral Act, the section dealing with Aboriginal electoral enrolment and voting rights.

The Select Committee on Voting Rights of Aborigines recommended that in New South Wales and Victoria the provisions for compulsory voting should be enforced for Aborigines as for other citizens; that action should be taken by the Commonwealth Electoral Office to inform Aborigines elsewhere, who were already entitled to vote, of their right to do so; that the right to vote at Commonwealth elections

'be accorded to all aboriginal and Torres  
Strait Islander subjects of the Queen,  
of voting age, permanently residing  
within the limits of the Commonwealth';

that for the time being enrolment be voluntary outside New South Wales and Victoria (and of course Tasmania), but that a person who was enrolled must vote.<sup>75</sup>

The members of the Committee were conscious of the problems of persons exercising a wrongful influence over Aborigines exercising their right to vote. To avoid this end it was recommended that

welfare officers, private persons, organisations and political parties be excluded from advising Aborigines in the matter of enrolment. To avoid discriminatory practices it avoided tests of literacy, housing, employment or wealth. It is probable that the Select Committee were influenced in their recommendations by the fact that the franchise for electors to the House of Assembly in Papua New Guinea had already been given, in comparison with which any restriction on the rights of Aborigines would have appeared anomalous. Lack of literacy in a country well-known for its enormous number of languages, probably close to seven hundred,<sup>76</sup> was not taken to be a bar to the right to participate in elections. In this connection Rowley observes that in the first ever confrontation and negotiation with Parliament and an Aboriginal group acting on its own initiative, following the petition by the Aborigines of the Yirrkala in Arnhem Land over land rights, the Aborigines showed an impressive and shrewd grasp of their interests as against those of the mining company, once the barriers of language were removed through effective translation.<sup>77</sup>

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Aboriginal awareness had been growing and organisations sprang up in the States for welfare and civil rights purposes, becoming joined loosely in the Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement. Partly in response to the pressure of the Council, a referendum was held in May 1967 to change inter alia two clauses in the Federal Constitution discriminating against Aborigines; section 127, which excluded full-blood Aborigines from national census counts, and section 51 (XXVI) which prohibited the federal government from passing laws relating to Aborigines living in the Australian states. The amendment of the two clauses was

passed by an eighty-nine per cent vote, the greatest majority ever recorded, with a substantial majority in all states (though the states with the lowest numbers of Aborigines had the highest 'Yes' vote). Miss Lippmann is of the opinion that the general public believed that the Commonwealth would quickly take over Aboriginal affairs and improve conditions all round.<sup>78</sup> Whether this is so or not is interesting to speculate, but it is likely that subsequent governments interpreted the referendum result as an indication of popular support for Aboriginal advancement. A Commonwealth Office of Aboriginal Affairs was set up, with funds of \$5 million for health, welfare and education, and another \$5 million to subsidise Aboriginal enterprises. However, Commonwealth involvement in Aboriginal affairs has not removed all responsibility from the State governments, indeed some of the States, notably Queensland, appear to resent Commonwealth intrusion. In Queensland, under The Aborigines' and Torres Strait Islands' Affairs Act of 1965 the Director of Aboriginal Affairs is vested with a considerable degree of power over 'assisted' Aborigines, that is, those living on government reserves of which there are eleven in the State. An Aborigine may be declared in need of assistance by the Director, a stipendiary magistrate or a judge, while the manager of a reserve may detain an Aborigine for a period of up to six months which may be extended providing the Director is informed.

It is difficult for outside observers to generalise about conditions on the reserves. However, the effect of their existence on the participation of Aborigines in white-Australian society is almost inhibiting. Miss Lippmann wrote

'The harsh and all-embracing regulations which govern the conduct of reserves ...

are not always invoked and despotism is thereby rendered benevolent, but it has had the result of inhibiting self-reliance, encouraging irresponsibility and cutting Aborigines off from normal social intercourse with whites.' 75

Reserves exist in other states besides Queensland.

However, it is the Queensland reserves, and in particular the one on Palm Island, which have attracted public attention with continuing reports of disease, eviction, violence and undernourishment of children.<sup>80</sup> It has been reported that at a meeting between the Federal and Queensland Ministers for Aboriginal Affairs, agreement is believed to have been reached that Queensland will pass responsibility for Aboriginal Affairs to the Australian Government.<sup>81</sup> Federal responsibility for Queensland Aborigines will relieve the Queensland State Government not only of a financial burden, but deliver it also from a politically undesirable position, that of jeopardising the support of its European electors. The Queensland Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Mr. Neville Hewitt, has been criticised outside his State for administering racist Aboriginal legislation, and inside his State, for 'giving the Blacks too much for nothing'.<sup>82</sup>

In fact, in Queensland there is a growing movement among white Australians who are opposed to the grants of Government money to Aboriginal people. The movement began in the Northern Territory several years ago, when it was named<sup>83</sup> the 'Rights for Whites' movement. It has had its name changed to 'Rights for Territorials', and is said to have a rapidly increasing support. At a meeting late in 1974 in Katherine, which attracted 2,000 out of a population of 6,000, orations were made about 'black bludgers', and there is

evidence of a distinct hardening of attitude. A Darwin journalist, Jim Bowditch, former editor of the N.T. News, has remarked that the poorer whites have lately taken to criticizing the 'handouts' by the government to full and part-Aborigines. They are particularly stirred by the cash payments to the parents of Aboriginal children, and to the children themselves, to help with educational costs. The administration of these payments is a source of resentment, since they are made, it is claimed, regardless of the income of the parents, and to those with an unrecognizable amount of Aboriginal blood. Among children, the cheques, which amount to \$500 per child per year, are known as 'boong cheques'.

Racial awareness has increased among Darwin Aborigines to the extent that support for teams at football matches is now along racial lines, with supporters urging Aboriginal players to 'kill whitey' and for European players to 'flatten the boong'.

In Alice Springs, Colin Clague, president of the Northern Territory branch of the Social Workers Association, who believes that he was unable to get party support for elections due to negative associations of his marriage to an Aborigine which renders him vulnerable to the charge of 'boong lover', believes racism is increasing. He believes covert racism is now overt, because the money going into Aboriginal affairs has 'given people something to get self-righteous about.'<sup>84</sup>

John Loizou, news editor of the N.T. News, claims that the view is now widespread that

'... the blacks are bludgers who should be kept in their place,'<sup>85</sup>



while Mr. Bowditch has asked

'What happens when you hand unemployment money to a man who's never received it, who has no major commitments and who has no aspirations because there are none for him to have?' 86

The Australian Government is, of course, aware of both the 'white backlash' which may cost future votes, and the undesired side effects of social welfare for Aborigines. Mr. B. Hayden, the Minister for Social Security has told the House of Representatives that<sup>87</sup>

'Social Welfare payments to Aborigines are causing complete dislocation to family and tribal links in some areas of Australia', causing 'a severe cultural jolt' and 'a fair bit of human suffering.'

'Very clearly, problems will arise if we try to interfere and direct that Aborigines shall spend their social security benefits in the same way as other people ... A complete dislocation to the family and tribal tie ups is occurring in some areas because of this money being made available.'

Aboriginal affairs are one area of policy where Ministers of successive governments do not have significant policy differences. The former Minister, Mr. W.C. Wentworth, had indicated awareness of the same problem. The views of the Labor Government and the former Liberal Country Party Government are that Aborigines must be given award wages and full social security entitlements, and additional assistance for education, housing and health ...

'With extension of social relief', notes the present Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Senator Cavanagh, 'there is more money available than previously and, unfortunately, I think some of it is being spent on liquor ... Alcohol is one of the problems we are faced with now and we think Aborigines have the same right as a white man to consume it.' 88

Thus with some exceptions, Aboriginal participation in politics has been focussed around the issue of welfare cheques, which some Europeans would maintain are not an entitlement, a claim whose justification is found by pointing to widespread cases of Aboriginal spending on liquor, taxi rides, and other items and activities. Aboriginal awareness is undoubtedly growing at a rapid rate, but is starting from an extraordinarily low base, and is so far confined to a minority.<sup>89</sup>

The election of members of a newly created National Aboriginal Consultative Committee in November 1973 saw an extremely low enrolment by eligible persons, i.e., those with any degree of Aboriginal blood. Speaking of this election, the president of the Queensland Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, Mr. L. McBride, identified two factors as being present. Firstly, many people with Aboriginal blood did not enrol as they would prefer to see themselves as part of white society,

'... they are traitors to their own race',

while, secondly, many others are lacking in awareness

'... many Aboriginal people don't have any ideas about politics. They wouldn't know whether Labor, the Liberals or the D.L.P. are in power.'<sup>90</sup>

Organisations such as the one of which Mr. McBride is president, will of course cause Aboriginal people of mixed descent to consider their position and declare their loyalties. The organisation does not propose to its members a return to tribal life, but greater welfare through more effective bargaining within the framework of white Australian society.

'We have to get across the message that

we have to live in a white society.  
 It is too late to go back to the old  
 ways', <sup>91</sup>

Mr. McBride has stated. The analysis of the role of language differences in Malaysia by Professor Le Page has obvious relevance to the situation of the Australian Aborigines, in that their mobilisation as a force participating in Australian politics requires the existence of a single language. Though there is a basic core of common grammar and vocabulary (Common Australian) the language of Aborigines is fragmented into approximately 700 dialects, which therefore has the effect of fragmenting the Aborigines politically. English is the language of Aboriginal political participation. We may posit a direct relationship between the English language competence of Aborigines and the level of political participation. We may also expect linguistically isolated groups to have low levels of political participation. Not only does English language competence increase the possibility of Aboriginal mobilisation on a national basis, but it carries also the message and the rhetoric of racial minorities in American and Southern Africa, whose perceptions of repression by white society have an overwhelmingly immediate relevance.

While a good deal of the rhetoric, concepts and perceptions of Aboriginal political participation are adopted from overseas sources (as indeed are those of all groups in all political cultures), at the same time there are some original contributions also. The most notable is the concepts of the Aboriginal Embassy, which was set up in 1972 and lasted for several months and which reappears from time to time. This was in fact several tents erected on the lawns of Parliament House, Canberra, being the Embassy of the Aborigines

to the 'foreign country' of white Australia, in the same way that other foreign nations are represented in Australia by their Embassies. The effect of this Aboriginal Embassy on the political consciousness of white Australians is impossible to gauge but we can assume that its originality has made it a highly effective exercise. The existence of untidy tents, with placards and deliberately untidy people within the centre of Australia's show-place capital was discomforting, until in 1972 the then Minister of the Interior, Mr. R. Hunt, had it removed under Ordinances by the Commonwealth Police, while Parliament was in recess.

#### IV. Aborigines and the Law

Another dimension of Aboriginal participation in Australian society, which may be regarded as socio-political, is that of law infringement. While the crime rate of migrants is significantly lower than that of the Australian-born population,<sup>92</sup> for Aborigines it is significantly higher. The report of the N.S.W. Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research in 1973<sup>93</sup> showed that Aborigines are charged and convicted at sixteen times the average rate for the population. The director of the Bureau, Dr. T. Vinson, has stated that the report was the first in which crime figures were related to nationality in Australia, and that, because of the enormity of the task involved the Bureau had concentrated upon people charged at Central police station in Sydney.

'A preliminary investigation by the bureau showed that the conviction rate for Aborigines - 14.4 per 1000 - far exceeded that for any other ethnic group.' <sup>94</sup>

Aborigines were brought before Sydney's Central Court on charges of soliciting (25 per cent), vagrancy (32 per cent) and using unseemly words (31 per cent).

Aborigines are thus frequently brought before the law, and often spend their lives in frequent interactions with magistrates and police, and as a result of which they invariably suffer terms of imprisonment.

This state of affairs is generally attributed to either moral deficiency on the part of the Aborigines, or to cultural inadequacy. In the light of Sapir, Whorf and Le Page, and other writers, we are led to the view that culture is embodied in language, and therefore, cultural deficiency is also related to linguistic deficiency and vice versa. In the case of migrants this is fairly obvious. But in the case of Aborigines, the linguistic deficiency is masked, we believe, by the fact that the indigenous language has been lost. It has been said that Aborigines are far more in need of lawyers than welfare officers.<sup>95</sup> The concept of 'rights' is of course embodied in language. Knowledge of the word introduces the knowledge of a concept of fairly explosive political content. An example will make this clearer. The trial of Nancy Young has been taken as an example of how justice can be flouted when racial prejudice is involved.<sup>96</sup> That prejudice played a significant role seems clear. But less clear but possibly more significant was the role of lack of competence in the English language on the part of the defendant. Nancy Young, an inhabitant of the Aboriginal Reserve on the fringe of Cunnamulla, Queensland, was tried and convicted for the manslaughter of her four and a half month old daughter, in 1968. The defendant was tried

before the full Queensland Supreme Court, found guilty and sentenced to three years' hard labour. Following coverage by the media, prolonged public protest, a petition to the Governor, and an appeal to the High Court by the Queensland Council of Civil Liberties, the case was heard again by the same Court which reversed its decision on grounds of fresh evidence and freed the defendant. There were present many legal irregularities in the way the trial was conducted, one of which was that the jury had to decide between the conflicting evidence of two general practitioners of medicine, which was in essence, that either the child's perilous condition of malnutrition would have been evident for some weeks prior to her admission to hospital, in which case Nancy Young would have been guilty of manslaughter, or that, as the other medical witness argued, the condition may have come upon the child in a matter of days, due to the combined effects of scurvy and pneumonia. No specialist witness was called. The counsel for the defense decided not to put the defendant in the witness box. His reason for this decision has been described by Robertson and Carrick in the following way:

'The tendency of uneducated Aboriginal defendants to say what they believe white 'authority figures' expect of them, to acquiesce readily in a line of questioning, would here have been disastrous in cross examination.' 97

Nancy Young, an uneducated part-Aboriginal woman, did not argue her case. She did not probably have full awareness of meaning of what was being said in Court. This is shown in the summing up of the case by Mr. Justice Hart in his instructions to the jury.

'The accused has not given any evidence at all. She has not gone into the box - you heard her invited to do so - she has not gone into the box and said, 'I fed this child properly. I gave

it the necessities.' She has given no explanation as to why she did not take it to the doctor, or say she did take it to another doctor, or anything like that. She just allowed all this evidence to be given without denying it. I am giving you this direction ... that it is legitimate for you to take this failure into account as a consideration which makes it less unsafe to infer guilt than it otherwise would have been.' 98

The jury, following its instruction, subsequently reached a verdict of guilty of manslaughter. What is of interest here is that while the language difficulties of migrants are recognized, those of Aborigines often are not, since they tend to be concealed. In fact, Aborigines are not culturally and linguistically equipped for compliance with the laws of the European society on whose fringes they live, and which presuppose a cultural knowledge on the part of the citizen.

'Still to be remedied are the problems any Aboriginal faces when enmeshed in a legal machine not programmed to take account of his particular cultural handicaps ...' 89

'... an inbuilt discrimination exists whenever common law rules are applied to indigent and ignorant fringe-dwellers.' 100

The same pattern tends to be spread quite uniformly throughout Australia. In Western Australia for example, a recent study of Aboriginal imprisonment figures revealed that while Aborigines comprise between 2 and 3 per cent of the State's population, they contribute over 30 per cent of the State's total prison population. Aboriginal and part-Aboriginal women made up 80 per cent of the women's prison population.<sup>101</sup>

The political and legal participation of Aborigines in Australia could thus be described as stunted, due to influence of linguistic and cultural inadequacy. An awareness of rights, and the movement of black power, with its armory of concepts and vocabulary, will undoubtedly

make up this deficit. Black power has been defined as a systematic attempt to make legitimate participants, not simply recipients, out of black people.<sup>102</sup>

Professor Tatz, in an article in Australian Quarterly, takes the view that Aboriginal participation is limited to much repressive law:

'I am decrying the cliché which says that advancement of the Aborigines depends on a change in public attitudes. I am saying that much of the public attitude stems from the fashion and trend set by legislation.'<sup>103</sup>

Repressive legislation, like the prejudice upon which it is based, undoubtedly plays a role in explaining the low level of Aboriginal participation, and its recipient nature. Yet Professor Tatz also acknowledges the role of language when, in discussing in general terms the evolution of politics to the extent of a 'participation explosion'. He notes that one must observe

'the quality of such participation, that is ... such factors as literacy, responsibility, understanding of issues, the quality of civic culture generally.'<sup>104</sup>

While Tatz concentrates on the role of law in explaining low Aboriginal participation, other writers such as Lippmann and Rowley tend to concentrate on prejudice. But 'prejudice' in itself is inadequate as an explanation of low levels of participation. An unpublished survey of the attitudes of white Australians towards Aborigines in Perth and two country towns in Western Australian indicated that forty-four per cent of respondents favoured segregation in hotels, and twenty-seven per cent in swimming pools, while about a third stated that they would not accept Aborigines as friends.<sup>105</sup>



However, neither legal repression nor prejudice are contradictory to lack of linguistic competence as an explanation. Increased competence in the English language, (and of course literacy), would undeniably provide Aborigines with the equipment they so sorely need in their struggles against repression and prejudice, as indeed it would have done for Nancy Young in her trial.

#### V. Participation of Aborigines in Medical Services

The present overall Aboriginal birthrate has been estimated by Moodie<sup>106</sup> to exceed 40 per 1000, or over twice the Australian average, and that while Aborigines are only 1 per cent of the total population, 2 per cent of all babies are either Aboriginal or part-Aboriginal. The birth rate among part-Aborigines is higher than that of full-blood Aborigines of whom it is also increasing, and may exceed that of full-Aborigines. However, the very high infant mortality rate, which continues into childhood, has a dampening effect on what would otherwise be a population explosion. The Northern Territory rate was in fact, in the period 1958-60, over six times the Australian infant mortality rate (excluding full-blood Aborigines) and over twice that for New Zealand Maoris, American Indians and South African Asiatics, and slightly higher than that for South Africa's coloured population. Many undeveloped nations and regions may have much higher rates, but no statistical evidence is available, Basutoland having the highest figure of those quoted in the United Nations Demographic Yearbook.

Although Aborigines (full and part) are only 1 per cent of Australia's population, Aborigines account for 10 per cent of all

Australian infant deaths, 28 per cent of all one-year-old deaths, and 9 per cent of all deaths of children aged two to four years.<sup>107</sup>

The causes of death fall largely into one of three categories, which may be grouped loosely as 'pneumonia', 'gastro-enteritis', and 'neo-natal diseases', of which in the latter 'immaturity' stands out. The Aborigines are fortunate in that, even in the north, they are not exposed to the wide range of vector-borne diseases found in tropical Africa, Asia and the Americas, yet they succumb to many other diseases: worm infestations, intestinal infections, iron-deficiency and nutritional anaemias, thinitis, recurrent skin sepsis, and milder forms of malnutrition due to an unbalanced rather than an inadequate diet, all of which are encouraged by poor community, domestic and individual hygiene. These causes may ultimately be seen as cultural:

'... the common causes of illness ... are also common in most transitional cultures.' <sup>108</sup>

The concept of hygiene is not part of Aboriginal languages and cultures. A general practitioner who has worked among the Aboriginal people of Collarenebri, Dr. A. Kalokerinos,<sup>109</sup> has written of the problems, which he regards as sociological, confronting infant health: over-crowding, flies, lack of fresh water, poverty, absence of sterilization of bottles, and the adherence by parents to an acceptance of 'fate' which was responsible for the illness and death of a child. In the terms of reference discussed in chapter one, this problem would be defined as cultural. The key to culture is language, and so the answer to the problem of the enormous Aboriginal infant mortality rate must surely be to increase the language competence of Aboriginal parents so that the concepts of hygiene and nutrition which

are at present foreign to Aboriginal mothers, can be made meaningful to them. This, however, is to anticipate our discussion in Part III, Policy Implications.

The case for prejudice, or at least indifference, as an explanation of the low level of participation by Aborigines in Australian life becomes very powerful when one examines the situation with regard to medical treatment. The absence of participation by Aborigines in advances in medical treatment, and medical coverage, in one of the world's richest and most medically sophisticated nations, can only be described as tragic. The death rate among Aboriginal children is one of the highest in the world.

Infant Mortality Rates,  
Northern Territory Aborigines and Others

	<u>Infant Mortality Rate</u> <u>per 1,000 Live Births</u>
Northern Territory (full-blood) (1965-67)	131.0
Australia (1958-60) (excluding full- blood Aborigines )	20.7
N.Z. Maori (1958-60)	51.0
U.S. Indian (1959)	47.0
South African (Asiatic) (1959)	62.2
South Africa (Coloured) (1959)	120.6
Japan (1959)	33.7
Thailand (1959)	47.1
Philippines (1959)	93.4
India (rural sample) (1958-59)	145.9
Basutoland (1955-60)	181.0

Source: P.M. Moodie, 'Mortality and Morbidity in Australian Aboriginal Children', Medical Journal of Australia, (1 January - June, 1969), p. 182.

Official government statements have whitewashed the problem of Aboriginal infant mortality. In 1972 the then Prime Minister, Mr. W. McMahon, stated, with reference to Aboriginal health in the Northern Territory

'In health, too, good progress is being made.' 110

The problem of infant mortality was officially attributed to the 'semi-nomadic life' of Aborigines.

We have thus seen clear and irrefutable evidence that Aboriginal participation in the white Australia economy and politics is severely handicapped by the lack of the linguistic and cultural prerequisite for participation. In fact their participation is characteristically the negative participation of confrontation with police and the courts, while in the area of medical services, Aborigines are in a situation that can only be described as a disaster. Most of the white Australians who have worked with Aborigines have recognized a problem of what is generally called 'cultural background', or sometimes 'educational deficiency'. There is also a linguistic problem, but this is often concealed from view by the fact that many Aborigines have a certain degree of knowledge of the English language; it is certainly more concealed among Aborigines than it is among migrants.

Although it cannot really be denied in the face of this amount of evidence that there are prerequisites for the participation by Aborigines in white Australian society, it might be argued that, firstly, the prerequisites are not cultural and linguistic, but racial, and secondly, that Aborigines do not possess sufficient intelligence

to meet these cultural and linguistic prerequisites. The first proposition is rather easier to answer than the second. Prejudice against persons of a dark colour of skin undoubtedly exists, but it is no bar to entry into certain ranges of the occupational structure. We have observed in Chapter 1 that Indians occupy a very high position in this structure and therefore mere colour of skin pigmentation is not, of itself, a barrier. In their dealings with professionals of another racial origin, racially prejudiced Australians have little opportunity to give effect to their prejudices.

The proposition about intelligence is one that will require more detailed study and we will devote more attention to it in a later section. Suffice it to say at this moment that there is no evidence at the present moment indicating a lower level of innate intelligence among Aborigines than among white Australians. But this is to lose sight of our first objective: that as far as Aborigines are concerned, our first proposition, that there are linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation in Australian society, is substantiated, since Aborigines do not possess them.

FOOTNOTES

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2. See, A.P. Elkin, The Australian Aborigines: How to Understand Them, 3rd ed., (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1954).
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4. Ibid., p. 444.
5. E.J. Foxcroft, Australian Native Policy, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1941), p. 109; figures quoted by Bell, op.cit.
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### CHAPTER 3

#### THE PREPARATION FOR PARTICIPATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

##### I. The situation : the academic performance of migrant children Scholastic record

The Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council under the chairmanship of W.R. Dovey published in February 1960 a report entitled: The Progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children in Australia. This committee made a detailed analysis of the position of migrant children in Australian schools.

Some tables show the migrant children's scholastic record, and although it is clear that these numbers would be inaccurate today, we can assume that the percentages would not have changed substantially. In any case we need only to have an approximate idea of how migrant children compare with Australian children in their educational progress, to see whether the prerequisites for later participation as adults are being provided.

Migrants have, in fact, an excellent record of scholarship in terms of overall performance. An analysis of the records show that

- (1) in 51% of the classes, their performance is better than that of Australian children;
- (2) in 13% of the classes, there is no difference between

the two groups;

(3) In 36% of the classes, they are lagging behind Australian children.<sup>1</sup>

The Dovey Report states that the performance of migrants, as a group, is above average except in congested inner city areas. However it is better in country areas and in established suburban areas than elsewhere.

Location of school and Migrant's Scholastic record.<sup>2</sup>

Migrant's Scholastic Record	City			Total City	Large Provincial Centre	All Other	Not Stated	No Migrants	TOTAL
	Inner	Outer	Other						
Better than Australians .	31	140	32	203	43	90	7	...	343
Same as Australians .	8	39	3	50	10	23	1	...	84
Worse than Australians .	35	106	20	161	33	38	6	...	238
Not stated .	8	33	3	44	4	19	5	...	72
No migrants .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	(188)
TOTAL	82	318	58	458	90	170	19	188	925

Source: Stratified sample survey of 1000 school teachers (925 replied).

That scholastic record of the migrant children is affected by the size of the class is shown by the following table:

Size of class and Migrant's Scholastic Record<sup>3</sup>

Migrants' Scholastic Record	Size of Class					TOTAL
	Under 30	30 - 39	40 & over	Not Stated	No Migrants	
Better than Australians ..	46	113	184	...	...	343
Same as Australians.	14	18	52	...	...	84
Worse than Australians ..	38	72	127	1	...	238
Not stated .. ..	16	15	37	4	...	721
No Migrants .. ..	..	..	..	...	...	(188)
TOTAL	114	218	400	5	(188)	925

Source: Stratified sample survey of 1000 school teachers (925 replied).

It is noticeable that migrants have a better record than Australians:

- (1) in 47% of the small classes;
- (2) in 56% of the medium size classes;
- (3) in 51% of the large classes.

It is also worth noticing that as the number of migrants in a class increases, their scholastic record is less outstanding. They have a better record than Australians

- (1) in 53% of classes with 1 to 5 migrants;
- (2) in 50% of those with 6 to 10 migrants;
- (3) in 48% of those with more than 10 migrants.<sup>4</sup>

Number of Migrants in Class and Migrant's  
Scholastic Record.<sup>5</sup>

Migrant's Scholastic Record.	1-5	6-10	11-15	Over 15	Not Stated	No Migrants	TOTAL
Better than Australians ..	213	79	25	25	1	...	343
Same as Australians	47	25	7	5	..	...	84
Worse than Australians ..	140	55	20	22	1	...	238
Not stated .. ..	31	15	8	13	5	...	72
No migrants .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	...	(188)
TOTAL	431	174	60	65	7	(188)	925

Source: Stratified sample survey of 1000 school teachers (925 replied).

The explanation given by the Dovey Report for this situation was:

'there are large classes, with many new arrivals, close to migrant centres; in areas of heavy permanent migrant concentration, social and home environments are contributing factors.'<sup>6</sup>

The very important role that parents play in the education of their children is a factor that explains the high performance of migrant children in the late years of secondary schools. The parents encourage their children when they work well but take them away from schools if their results are not satisfactory. Let us consider another table given by the committee:



Average age of class and migrants' scholastic  
record.<sup>7</sup>

Migrants' Scholastic Record	Average age of class						TOTAL
	7-9 Yrs	10-14 yrs.	15-17 yrs.	Not stated	Compo-site Classes	No Mig-rants	
Better than Australians	64	178	44	8	49	...	343
Same as Australians	14	56	6	2	6	...	84
Worse than Australians	39	152	16	5	26	...	238
Not stated	6	23	8	4	31	...	72
No Migrants	..	..	..	..	..	...	(188)
TOTAL	123	409	74	19	112	(188)	925

Source: Stratified sample of 1000 school teachers  
(925 replied)

This table shows that migrants have a better record than Australians.

- (1) in 55% of the 7-9 age group;
- (2) in 46% of the 10-14 age group;
- (3) in 67% of the 15 and over group;

and a poorer record than Australians:

- (1) in 33% of the 7-9 age group;
- (2) in 40% of the 10-14 age group;
- (3) in 24% of the 14 and over group.<sup>8</sup>

The Dovey Report classified as migrants any children who were not born in Australia. They could have come from Holland, Italy, Great Britain, Greece or Turkey and been classified under the same title. Is this basis for classification justifiable? In his article 'Integration, Assimilation and the Education of Immigrant Children', Dr. Smolicz wrote:

'But in what precise sense can migrant children coming from such diverse backgrounds be regarded as some kind of cohesive 'group'? In fact, although it appears hardly creditable, the report makes no serious attempt to differentiate between the various migrant nationalities. It even fails to distinguish clearly between children who were previously English speaking and those who were not.'<sup>9</sup>

This kind of simplistic generalisation can be very dangerous. Professor Martin in Refugee Settlers made a study of Melbourne University enrolments in first year Arts, Laws and Science. The survey found that just over one tenth of the sample were children of European-born parents. At first sight this appeared a satisfactory proportion for it was only slightly below the percentage of European-born in the total population of Melbourne. But a closer analysis of these students revealed that over half were the children of Eastern Europeans while less than a seventh were of Italian or Greek origin. Thus Southern Europeans were grossly under-represented at the tertiary level of education with five times as many Italians and Greeks in the community as at the University.<sup>10</sup>

It is clear then that when examining the academic performance of migrant children one must differentiate each group since each has a distinct language and culture and cannot be crudely lumped together, particularly in a comparison with those from Great Britain, whose

situation is quite different from those of non-British migrants.

In Migration and Social Pluralism, Jean Martin stated that recent studies of the performance of migrant children and Australian-born children of migrant parents in New South Wales schools provided further discomfiting evidence that migrant children in general performed less well at school than did the Australian-born and that there was accumulating in the schools a residual population of migrant children, parallel to the non-mobile low-income families, who would be permanently disadvantaged. The first survey (made in 1968 by the Department of Education in New South Wales, in collaboration with the Commonwealth Departments of Immigration and of Education and Defence) showed that 37 per cent of primary and 20 per cent of secondary schools migrant pupils had English language difficulties. These 16,452 children, the report stated, would rank second only to the 'mildly handicapped' numbering some 30,000 in all, as a category of children with special needs. The results of a follow-up study in 1969 showed that over 40 per cent of children with English language difficulties had been at school in New South Wales more than three years. To the extent that children of unskilled migrant parents suffered an educational handicap, they were likely to perpetuate the low socio-economic status of their families.<sup>11</sup>

Language difficulties therefore emerge as the outstanding factor influencing performance of migrant children in schools. The Dovey Report, in its failure to distinguish between various nationalities and linguistic groups, gave an unjustifiably optimistic picture in comparison with that of the survey carried out in 1968 and mentioned previously.

What percentage of migrant children do in fact reach the tertiary level of education? An article by R. Taft, Patricia Strong and P.J. Fensham, entitled 'National Background and choice of tertiary Education in Victoria' reported some findings on the attitudes towards higher education held by Australian and immigrant males in fifth and sixth year of secondary school in Victoria.<sup>12</sup>

The results allow us to define and compare the attitudes of national groups towards tertiary education and to consider their implications for the subsequent educational and occupational careers of the children of immigrants.<sup>13</sup>

It is interesting to remark upon the preferences for subjects and occupations as shown by various national groups. The students were asked whether they would prefer to go to University to study Humanities, Sciences or Mathematics, and it was observed initially that in four of the five groups that indicated the highest preference for Humanities, the respondent had at least one parent whose first language was English.<sup>14</sup>

Students were also asked the hypothetical question,

'If you could become any one of the following which would you like to be?

Question 1 : Script writer, industrial chemist, statistician.

Question 2 : Astronomer, engineer in charge of a large project, well-known journalist.'

For both questions, in all but one case, the highest percentage of students responded that they would prefer the more practically orientated scientific occupations: i.e. industrial chemist or engineer. The verbal and more theoretical scientific occupations

were therefore not greatly favoured.<sup>15</sup>

Some figures provided further enlightenment to our study.

Students' first preference for Humanities,  
Science or Mathematics subjects

National Groups	Subject given highest percentage of first preferences	Range of Responses %
AA, AO, BB, BO, II, NN, PP, EE, NE, AS, GG	Humanities	41 - 45
	Sciences	40 - 52
	Mathematics	35 *

\* Code used in this table:

AA Both parents are Australians.	NN Both parents born in Northern or Western Europe.
BB Both parents are British, Americans or from New Zealand.	AO One parent is Australian.
BO One parent British, the other one from any country except Australia.	AS Eastern and Southern Asia.
PP Both parents born in Poland.	NE One born in Northern or Western Europe, one in Eastern Europe.
EE Both parents born in Eastern Europe except Poland.	GG Both parents born in Greece, Cyprus or Macedonia.
II Both parents born in Italy or in a few cases, Malta.	

This table extracted from the article by Taft, Strong and Fensham (p.48) shows that students with at least one parent being of English mother-tongue prefer Humanities since they do not have the language difficulties encountered by the other national groups.

The group II is an exception. No simple explanation presents

itself, but the overwhelming evidence remains that non-English speaking migrants tended to prefer scientific subjects at University.

In a follow-up study of boys taking the Matriculation examination in Victoria it was found that some immigrant groups, notably Poles (mainly Jewish) were more successful at Matriculation level than Australians, and others, for example, Germans, Dutch, Italians and Greeks, were less.<sup>16</sup>

If we look at the figures given by Taft, Strong and Fensham we notice that the percentage of Poles passing their matriculation in Victoria for the year of 1967 was the astonishing figure of 100. Let us compare them with the percentage for the other national groups, keeping the same code as previously mentioned.<sup>17</sup>

National Groups	AA	AO	BB	BO	NN	PP	EE	NE	II	GG	AS
Passed Matric. 1967	75	82	80	75	63	100	78	62	66	63	68

However, observes Taft, 'this finding is tentative and needs to be subjected to more extensive investigations in which such variables as educational level of parents, economic opportunities, aspirations, and language handicaps should also be considered'.<sup>18</sup> Also the motivations of the parents of these children in migrating to Australia should be taken into consideration. The children of refugee parents were outstanding in scholarship, leadership, social activities and sporting abilities the Dovey Report found.<sup>19</sup> Moreover the Poles, who are almost all Jewish achieved far above average

results in Matriculation examinations.

The motivation towards learning on the part of the children depends highly on the parents. Some of the parents in the Smolicz survey had professional qualifications but through lack of recognition of these qualifications and their difficulty in mastering English were forced to continue employment in manual occupations. This applied particularly to the more elderly, those burdened with large families, members of liberal professions such as law, or members of the armed forces who could find no equivalent appointments in Australia. But while migrants from this background were themselves unable to regain their former status, they could nevertheless pass on their values in the form of a belief in the importance of education and high motivation to their children.<sup>20</sup>

It is very difficult to assess the intelligence of children and even more difficult in the case of Aboriginal and migrant children. In almost all cases there is the language barrier, and the problem of adaptation, which might not yet be achieved, to a different culture.

Dr. Smolicz reports that in a number of schools, selection for stream placement (which is mainly by the I.Q. type of test although primary school reports may also be taken into consideration) is still carried out in the first week after enrolment, a time when, he notes, a migrant child is particularly vulnerable, being disoriented and possibly intimidated by a new and foreign environment.<sup>21</sup>

This situation is clearly unsatisfactory since it gives rise to a placement where the migrant child cannot escape, therefore,

concludes Smolicz

'... the combination of environmental linguistic and socio-economic factors ensures that a disproportionately large number of southern Europeans find themselves at the bottom of the academic pyramid, buried in classes from which students are not expected to proceed beyond the minimum learning age.' <sup>22</sup>

The children of migrants suffer also from psycholinguistic disabilities. Research is at present being carried out in this field. The research of the Victorian Department of Education is interesting in its preliminary conclusions.

The Education Department in Victoria in its research report, R.R. 10/71, examined the psycholinguistic abilities and disabilities of children of different socio-economic status and ethnic background (Greek and Australian). The results indicated that children of low socio-economic status experience disabilities in the auditory-vocal channels of communication, which appear to compound into a form of reading disability. This reading disability appears, furthermore, to be related to a limitation in the oral language of children of the low S.E.S. subjects or low socio-economic status families. The study further indicated that a form of the 'cumulative deficit' may be operating in Victorian schools. <sup>23</sup>

The study also compared the psycholinguistic abilities of migrants and non-migrants. The migrant children showed a pattern of language disability not dissimilar to that shown by the low socio-economic status children. There is some evidence to suggest that they may suffer additional disabilities particularly with reference to reading and numerical memory. In addition it was found that migrants



attending schools in areas of high socio-economic status perform at a superior level to migrants attending schools in areas of low socio-economic status, on the tests of the language battery.\* These findings tend to support the hypothesis that migrant children adopt their peers as language models.<sup>24</sup>

\* The battery consisted of:

1. The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities
2. The Wepman Test of Auditory Discrimination.
3. The Neale Analysis of Reading.
4. The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test.
5. The Raver's Progressive Matrices (coloured).

## II. LANGUAGE EDUCATION

### (i) The Problems in General

In a paper entitled 'The Migrant Child', Dr. E.W. Bauer, Director of Language Services at Monash University studied some of the problems faced by migrant children in learning a foreign language, in particular, the problem of the migrant in learning a foreign language in what is a largely monolingual community.<sup>25</sup>

'Everybody knows,' says Dr. Bauer, 'that learning a foreign language is not easy and we have evidence of many brilliant children who never achieve high standards in foreign languages.' 26

Even if a person happens to take a vacation in the foreign country for several weeks or months, in Dr. Bauer's view, his mastery of the foreign language does not just come about by itself in a short time. He has to spend considerable time and effort, usually years, before

he feels at relative ease with the language.<sup>27</sup> Migrants face another problem which Dr. Bauer summarizes in these terms:

'Migrants, in addition, are subjected to pressures to which the usual learner of a foreign language is not exposed ... Performance of the children at school is completely dependant on the mastery of the foreign language in each and every school subject ... They are often regarded as under-achievers who hinder the smooth running of the school day and hold up others in their learning. Thus, in contrast to other foreign language learners, migrant children are expected to acquire the new language under the most adverse conditions: they are taught by subject-teachers who have no idea of the problems these children are facing. They are taught together with children who are native speakers.' <sup>28</sup>

In Dr. Bauer's view, the whole approach towards linguistic integration of the foreign child in the community must be reappraised. One can easily aim towards integration and yet practice segregation in approaches and strategies. Despite pleas for a pluralistic society, bilingual and bicultural education, many schools are actually introducing 'withdrawal' classes and special English classes at the cost of depriving the migrant child of other required learning sessions.<sup>29</sup>

Dr. Bauer remarks upon the fact that there is a stigma attached to being assigned to 'withdrawal classes', e.g. eleven periods a week in a number of high schools in Victoria. Students become worried about being classified as failures. They frequently miss other important lessons and they would prefer to study Special English out of school to prevent this. Not only do the students find difficulty in understanding the ordinary subject, but they must do, on their own, work others have had help with.<sup>30</sup>

Linguistic problems are tied to 'problems of acculturation'.<sup>31</sup>

Not only is there insufficient provision made for outlines and special guidelines for linguistic and cultural recognition training and - in areas of concentration of specific immigrant groups - for a concept of bilingual and bicultural education. In language learning many of the linguistic problems stem from psychological difficulties in understanding and applying differences in cultural concepts, habits and values and their appropriate verbal expression, notes Dr. Bauer, thus confirming our basic conceptualisation discussed in Part I.<sup>32</sup>

The teaching programme must devote a substantial portion to the systematic growth of cultural awareness in communication tasks and this could, Bauer suggests, be built into the social studies programme.<sup>33</sup>

(ii) The Problems of educating migrant children.

Mr. B. Rimmer, Field Officer for the Victorian Teachers' Union, has looked, in his paper entitled 'The problems of educating migrant children', at a long neglected problem and the efforts being taken to meet it.

The schools situated near migrant hostels have been obliged to take many migrant children. In Brunswick Girls' High School for example, there were 240 Italian girls, 40 Greek girls, and 135 Australian girls, in May 1970.<sup>34</sup> These schools obviously need more teachers, equipment and classrooms. Mr. Rimmer has stated that while the schools are expected to cope with the enrolment of migrants, no special facilities have been provided or help given. If a school had a spare classroom then this became the migrant room, or otherwise

teachers of migrant English would find themselves adopting quite unsuitable makeshift accommodation. At Maribyrnong High School the teacher of migrant English worked, he noted, in a storeroom.<sup>35</sup>

Are the teachers in a sufficient number to cope with this influx of migrant children? According to Rimmer,

'The Department over the past three years has provided these schools with extra teachers to help with the migrant problem. However, in some cases the number of teachers supplied have not been sufficient to cope with the problem and migrant children have been receiving help limited mainly to conversational English. As new non-English speaking migrants arrive at a school from the hostel, adjustments are made to the migrant classes, so that in many cases children who still need help with the language are not able to attend classes.'<sup>36</sup>

In answer to the question of whether migrant children arriving at hostels should immediately be admitted to schools, Rimmer stated that there is a difference of professional opinion among teachers.<sup>37</sup> Some felt that the migrant children should stay at the hostel and receive intensive English lessons, having to reach a certain standard of fluency before being admitted to the school. Others believed it was important for the new migrant child to mix with children at school and benefit from the social contact, particularly in the play ground.<sup>38</sup>

If these children are to receive an adequate education, he noted, then special measures would have to be taken so that these children would have a full command of the English language and can compete in Australian society, that is, be given the linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation.<sup>39</sup> Quoting at length from Rimmer's article, we learn that:

'Teachers, particularly in the post-primary field, have done research into the problems of reading retardation. The results I believe are alarming. The number of pupils who are at least one year below their age reading level has reached very high proportions. The following figures from two inner suburban high schools include Australian and migrant pupils.

#### SCHOOL A.

Number and Percentage of Dependent, Semi-independent and Independent Readers\* by Forms, June 1970.

Form		Dependent	Semi- Dependent	Indepen- dent.	TOTALS
1	No.	20	48	47	115
	%	17.4	41.7	40.9	100.00
2	No.	29	20	54	103
	%	28.2	19.4	52.4	100.00
3	No.	3	10	63	76
	%	3.9	13.2	82.9	100.00
4	No.	2	11	38	51
	%	3.9	21.6	74.5	100.00
5	No.	0	2	14	16
	%	0	12.5	87.5	100.00
School	No.	54	91	216	361
	%	15.0	25.2	59.8	100.00

\* Terminology used that of Cooper's Theoretical Model  
 Dependent Reader - R.A. 0 - 8.5 years.  
 Semi-independent Reader - R.A. 8.5 - 10.9 years.  
 Independent Reader - R.A. 11.0 and over.

#### SCHOOL B.

##### FORM 1

The intake of 116 pupils at the beginning of 1970 was given the Daniels and Diack Standard Reading Test. The results were as follows:-

10% did not register on the test as they spoke no English at all.  
 12% scored more than four years below the average for their age group.  
 50% were reading between one and four years below the average.  
 20% were reading less than one year below the average.  
 8% had attained the average standard.

Conclusion: 92% of Form 1 need special help.

The areas where help is needed can be divided into four categories.

1. Non-English speakers (10%).
2. Non-readers (12%).
3. Extremely poor readers (50%).
4. Children who with extra help could attain Form 1 standard (20%).

#### Needs:

Group 1 consisting of 12 pupils needs to be divided into two groups of six and given at least four lessons of intensive English per day. This teaching is vital, as most of the very poor readers are migrants who do not appear to have received a basic grounding in English.

Groups 2 and 3, consisting of 69 pupils, need to be in remedial groups of not more than 6 for at least 5 periods per week of 'Words in Colour'. This would involve a total of 55 teaching periods per week.

Group 4, consisting of 22 pupils, need extra help for at least one period per day.

The total teaching time for these four groups should be 100 periods per week.

#### Reality:

In Group 1 each child received, on an average, 4 periods per week.

Group 2 has been divided into two groups of 6, each group receiving four lessons per week.

Groups 3 and 4 (70%) are not catered for at all, despite the fact that they are all well below average and are therefore, unable to cope adequately with the Form 1 program.

The total time actually devoted to these children is 25 periods per week.

#### FORM 11

In October 1969, the present Form 11 were given the Daniels and Diack Standard Reading Experience Test.

The test showed that 45% of the students were reading at more than one year below their chronological age. (The range went from 1 - 5 years below), Another 38% were reading at one year or less under their chronological age, and 17.3% of the students were reading at or above their chronological age.

### Needs:

The 45% need a remedial program. This would involve 7 groups having 5 periods per week. Total: 35 per week.

The 38% need 1 period of special English per day working in their normal 3 class groups. Total: 15 periods.

One remedial teacher and one extra teacher of English would be required to cope with the total of 50 periods.

### Reality:

Eight students (roughly 9%) all new arrivals, are receiving altogether 8 periods of Special English per week.

A lot more research has yet to be done in this field. However, these results indicate that the migrant and Australian child in these areas are forced, by lack of adequate educational opportunity, to seek employment in the unskilled or semi-skilled jobs and has very little chance of further education.<sup>40</sup>

## III. STANDARD OF ENGLISH

The Dovey Report reserved one chapter for the knowledge of English of migrant children and their parents. It may be worth while to study some comparative figures. Later on we shall try to analyse the importance of linguistic skills to the academic performance of the migrant children.

The Dovey Report was published in 1960, as we have mentioned previously. However the figures have probably not varied so considerably as to give a false picture of the knowledge of English of migrant children.

The Report stated that

'43 per cent of migrant children have a good knowledge of both written and spoken English, 33 per cent have a satisfactory knowledge of

both written and spoken English; 24 per cent have a poor knowledge of either written or spoken English, or both.' <sup>41</sup>

Are these 24 per cent of children handicapped by their poor knowledge? The importance given to English by the teachers varied vastly. Indeed some teachers who have had a large number of migrants to deal with in their large classes would place a great stress on English. On the other hand, those whose migrant children were 'doing well' were inclined to discount the importance of English.<sup>42</sup> Thus the figures that follow must be put into a relative frame of reference. According to the Dovey report

'38 per cent of the teachers say that English is the most important single factor, 30 per cent consider it vary important; 32 per cent regard it either as one of several important factors, or not very important.'<sup>43</sup>

The linguistic barriers must thus be recognized as the basis of the poor academic performance of some of the children. The role of the teacher also is essential:

'Difficulty with English is, of course, an inevitable feature in the case of the European migrants, but, for the most part it appears to be relatively short-lived. Teachers have shown themselves able to help most of the children reach satisfactory standards fairly quickly.'<sup>44</sup>

However it should be stressed as the Dovey Report did, that the parents' role is as essential as that of the teachers:

'Teachers point out that children are quick to adapt themselves to Australian school life when at least one parent has a reasonable knowledge of English and where parents persevere with English. On the other hand, where English is not spoken in the home, the child is handicapped.'<sup>45</sup>



When parents insist that only their native language be spoken at home the children are seriously handicapped in 'their progress at school and their participation in social activities.'<sup>46</sup>

In most cases, when the mother stays at home, she is firmly entrenched within her linguistic determinants and does not learn to speak English; therefore, parents speak their own language at home because mothers do not understand English. It seems fairly apparent that the adults, the Dovey Report observed, particularly the women, do not make overmuch effort to speak English at home. Where possible the housewives (mothers) should be strongly urged to attend English classes. Children cannot assimilate if they are forbidden to use English in the home because the mothers and grandmothers do not understand it.<sup>47</sup> A language must be practiced just like a violinist or a pianist must play his instrument every day, the Report noted, and the young linguist must practice as often as possible. Also, the use of English must not be restricted to the school or the playground for it would introduce a considerable gap in the family ties.

The Dovey Report examined the comparative progress of some migrant children with Australian children. Some migrant children were in classes one or two below Australians of the same age, and there were several possible reasons for this:

- (1) Some of the children were newcomers who had not yet adjusted themselves to Australian school life;
- (2) some were handicapped because they lacked sufficient English;
- (3) different curricula and interruptions to schooling.<sup>48</sup>

The importance of the handicaps caused by lack of sufficient

English has been examined in detail by T. Roper and M. Waten in their report entitled 'Differences in Reading Skills in a number of Inner and Outer Suburban Melbourne High Schools'.<sup>49</sup> In 1968 a group of inner suburban members of the Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association met to discuss the special problems of high school students in the inner suburban area of Melbourne. The problems were seen as arising firstly from the relatively high proportion of non-English speaking migrant children in all classes and secondly from the high percentage of economically deprived children. Although the problems of economically deprived children are interesting, Mr. Roper and Mrs. Waten decided to limit themselves to the examination of non-English speaking migrant children. It was suggested that the reading comprehension level and vocabulary knowledge of these children were well below that of children in other schools in which the teachers had taught.<sup>50</sup> The differences in vocabulary, speed of comprehension and level of comprehension, according to the language spoken at home were examined and the following results were obtained. These results are found in the inner suburban group by itself.

## VOCABULARY\*

Forms	2	3	4
English Spoken	18.00	21.44	24.44
English not spoken	13.60	15.36	18.71
Difference	4.40	6.08	5.73

\* The units are units of measurement used in the survey.

The inner suburban students, then, who did not speak English at home performed progressively less well.<sup>51</sup>

Speed of Comprehension<sup>52</sup>

Forms	2	3	4
English spoken	15.68	17.55	19.42
English not spoken	12.03	13.99	15.97
Difference	3.65	3.56	3.45

Level of Comprehension<sup>53</sup>

Forms	2	3	4
English spoken	13.89	15.11	17.22
English not spoken	10.46	12.24	15.27
Difference	3.43	2.87	1.97

Whilst differences in level of comprehension between the two groups diminished as the non-native English speaker progressed through school, the difference was still present in fourth form. There was no such positive trend in the vocabulary and speed scores, as differences increased in the former and remained almost the same in the latter.<sup>54</sup>

This presented a contrast with the situation in the outer suburban schools. The number of students who did not speak English at home was quite small (66 cases out of 751) and while they performed less well than their outer suburban colleagues but not as

markedly as their inner suburban counterparts.<sup>55</sup>

If one compares the results of outer suburban school children and the inner suburban school children who are English-speakers the differences are quite astounding but even more so with the non-English speakers inner suburban school children. The following tables show this clearly:

#### Vocabulary<sup>56</sup>

Forms	2	3	4
(i) Outer Suburban	29.89	32.28	38.97
Inner suburban non-English speakers	13.60	15.36	18.71
Differences	16.29	16.92	20.26
(ii) Outer Suburban	29.89	32.28	38.97
Inner suburban English speakers	18.00	21.44	24.44
Difference	11.89	10.84	14.53

#### Speed of Comprehension<sup>57</sup>

Forms	2	3	4
(i) Outer Suburban	24.92	27.68	33.15
Inner Suburban non-English speakers	12.03	13.99	15.97
Difference	12.89	13.69	17.18
(ii) Outer suburban	24.92	27.68	33.15
Inner suburban English speakers	15.68	17.55	19.42
Difference	9.24	10.13	13.73

Level of Comprehension<sup>58</sup>

Forms	2	3	4
(i) Outer suburban	19.19	20.49	23.82
Inner suburban non-English speakers	10.46	12.24	15.27
Difference	8.73	8.25	8.55
(ii) Outer suburban	19.19	20.49	23.82
Inner suburban English speakers	13.89	15.11	17.22
Difference	5.30	5.38	6.60

How many children in the inner suburban schools continued on at school after form 4? The report by Roper and Waten suggested that almost fifty per cent of the 'inner' group do not go on after form 4; and that the percentage 'drop out' of non-English speakers is higher still.<sup>59</sup> It has also been noticed that the group which showed the greatest improvement in Level of Comprehension was the migrant non-English speaking group. However despite this their average score was still the lowest and far below the outer suburban students.<sup>60</sup> We can therefore assume that given a better opportunity to learn English upon their arrival, migrant children would not be lagging behind their school fellows, and would presumably obtain better results at school giving them the necessary qualifications to rise to higher levels of participation in Australian society. The results which were obtained in comparing students in forms 2, 3, 4 are consistent with those found in forms 5 and 6. These following tables compare students within the inner suburban schools.

Vocabulary<sup>61</sup>

Forms	5	6
English spoken	23.06	32.81
English not spoken	17.51	25.08
Difference	5.45	7.73

Speed of Comprehension<sup>62</sup>

Forms	5	6
English spoken	16.32	23.14
English not spoken	10.51	14.15
Difference	5.81	8.99

Level of comprehension<sup>63</sup>

Forms	5	6
English spoken	50.13	54.97
English not spoken	45.69	49.23
Difference	4.44	5.74

This last table shows again that the students who are non-English speakers have improved their level of comprehension.

Roper and Waten came to the conclusion that English language programs are an urgent necessity for many migrant students in secondary schools.<sup>64</sup>

Professor Taft has however criticized the report of Roper and Waten. Taft argued<sup>65</sup> that although the study of Roper and Waten found that children from homes where English was not used are retarded on tests of English vocabulary knowledge and reading comprehension when compared with children from English speaking homes, there is no discussion of possible intellectual differences in immigrant parents who use English at home and those who do not, and the results therefore could not be used as a pure measure of the effect of hearing English at home or school skills. Again there are no figures presented on the degree of retardation in relation to the number of years in Australia, and the results, thus, simply present the facts on the degree of English retardation that exists at some particular but unknown point in the process of learning English.<sup>66</sup>

Let us examine these two criticisms by Professor Taft. The first one states that Roper and Waten's results 'cannot be used as a pure measure of the effect of hearing English at home on school skills.' It should be remembered though that Roper and Waten are only concerned with the skills of 'reading', 'level of comprehension' and 'speed of comprehension'. All these skills are based on a linguistic knowledge only; consequently the cultural and intellectual background of the immigrant parents who use English at home does not need to be considered. Waten and Roper simply wanted to show that the non-English speaker was retarded in comparison with his school fellows whose knowledge of English was adequate.

The second criticism of Roper and Waten stated that

'there are no figures presented on degree of

retardation in relation to the number of years in Australia, and the results, thus simply present the facts on the degree of English retardation that exists at some particular but unknown point in the process of learning English.' 67

Although it is true that we do not know the precise point, in forms 4, 5 and 6 the level of comprehension has improved. Therefore, although the impression we get from the results is not absolute it is a fair one which suggests that as the migrant child improves in English, his results will also improve on a wider range of academic subjects showing that the lack of English is a real handicap in all the academic sphere, before the alleged or real differences in intelligence and cultural background, to which Professor Taft has drawn attention, can have an opportunity to exert their influence.

#### IV. LACK OF ENGLISH : HANDICAP IN EDUCATION PERFORMANCE

'On entering the Australian school, the migrant child suffers language loss and because his English is not adequate to permit him to continue learning he cannot profit from the school'

stated Tom Roper and William Clelland.<sup>68</sup>

It is thus clear that the lack of English is a handicap to all kind of academic activities. Roper and Clelland add that his use of his native language is restricted to the home and soon declines, and so he finds himself in linguistic no-man's land (the linguistic 'homelessness' noted in Part I), not yet being able to learn in English and not being taught in his own language. Migrant children can thus be cut off from a whole range of conceptual experience and



may never recover from this handicap.<sup>69</sup>

The years from age 11 to 14 are critical. This is the time when many concepts are learned and if the first language is discarded at this time without adequate English in which to continue learning, the individual is severely disadvantaged.

One study, reported by Mrs. V. Yule - an officer of the Psychology and Guidance Branch of the Victorian Education Department - indicated that the most handicapped children in the school situation were, as expected, those from homes where English was not spoken. Severe language handicap may be very serious in its consequences. In a comparison of preparatory and grade six drawing, 'motor development' tended to slow down in cases of severe handicap. Both Australian and migrant children at the inner suburban school in which the programme took place were well below normal in language development.<sup>70</sup>

What is important for us to note in Mrs. Yule's findings is the observation that

'...severe language handicap may be very serious in its results.'

Language, and in this case the English language, is the key not only to communication and assimilation, or as we prefer to say participation, but also to education and consequently future participation. A migrant child who does not have sufficient education will have great difficulties in achieving the expectation that his parents and/or he himself may have. To be 'educated' means to possess a higher level of competence in the culture of the society in which a child must later participate as an adult; specifically an occupational skill.

If the migrant child with a high expectation does not realise

his dream he will be unsatisfied and will tend to reject the host society as well as his own, and his 'linguistic no-man's land' will spread over into a 'cultural no-man's land', with all the difficulties frustrations and unhappiness that this entails.

Professor Zubrzycki has commented that

'A command of the English language is of particular importance to social adjustment because it is related to friendly contacts,'<sup>71</sup>

and this kind of participation is even more fundamentally important than that in the economic, political, legal or government service spheres.

# FOOTNOTES

1. The Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council : The Progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children in Australia (Canberra : Government Printer 1960), p. 14.
2. Ibid., table 1, p. 38.
3. Ibid., p. 41, table 11,
4. Ibid., p. 15.
5. Ibid., table 4, p. 39.
6. Ibid., p. 15.
7. Ibid., table 8, p. 40.
8. Ibid., p. 15.
9. J.J. Smolicz; 'Integration, Assimilation and the Education of Immigrant Children', in Roberts, op.cit., p. 46.
10. Ibid., p. 46.
11. Jean Martin: 'Migration and Social Pluralism' in How Many Australians? Immigration and Growth, (Australian Institute of Political Science, Angus & Robertson, 1971), pp. 100-101.
12. R. Taft, Patricia Strong and P.J. Fensham : 'National Background and Choice of Tertiary Education in Victoria' in International Migration, 1X ½ 1971, p. 36.
13. Ibid., p. 36.
14. Ibid., p. 48.
15. Ibid., p. 48.
16. R. Taft: 'Ethnic groups', F.J. Hunt (ed.), Socialisation in Australia, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1972), p. 81.

17. From Table 12 in Taft, Strong and Fensham, op.cit., p. 50.
18. Taft , Ethnic group, op.cit.
19. The Dovey Report, op.cit. p. 12.
20. J.J. Smolicz, 'Integration, Assimilation and the Education of Immigrant Children', op.cit., p. 44.
21. Ibid., p. 53.
22. Ibid., p. 53.
23. Des Pickering : Education Department - Victoria Research Report, R.R. 10/71. An Examination of the Psycholinguistic abilities and disabilities of grade II Children of different socio-economic status and ethnic background - Greek and Australian, p. 1.
24. Ibid., p. 1.
25. E.W. Bauer, 'The Migrant Child', Australian Association for the teaching of English as a foreign language Newsletter. vi, No. 2, Oct. 71, p. 17.
26. Ibid., p. 17.
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32. Ibid., p. 23.
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34. Barrie Rimmer : 'The Problems of Educating migrant children', Teachers' Journal, November 1970, p. 451.

35. Ibid., p. 452.
36. Ibid., p. 452.
37. Ibid., p. 452.
38. Ibid., p. 452.
39. Ibid., p. 453.
40. Ibid., pp. 453-454.
41. Dovey Report, p. 18.
42. Ibid., p. 18.
43. Ibid., p. 18.
44. Ibid., p. 19.
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46. Ibid., p. 20.
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49. T. Roper, M. Waten, Differences in reading skills in a number of inner and outer suburban Melbourne High Schools. La Trobe University, School of Education Centre for the Study of Urban Education in conjunction with Inner Suburban Group Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association, (nd), p. 1.
50. Ibid., p. 1.
51. Ibid., p. 5.
52. Ibid., p. 6.
53. Ibid., p. 6.

54. Ibid., p. 6.
55. Ibid., p. 6.
56. Ibid., p. 7.
57. Ibid., p. 7.
58. Ibid., p. 7.
59. Ibid., p. 7.
60. Ibid., p. 8.
61. Ibid., p. 10.
62. Ibid., p. 10.
63. Ibid., p. 10.
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65. R. Taft : 'Ethnic Groups' in Hunt, op.cit.
66. Ibid., p. 80.
67. Ibid., p. 80.
68. Tom Roper and William Clelland, 'Migrant families - their educational aspirations ... and their defeats', The Teachers' Journal, September 1972, p. 348.
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71. Jerzy Zubrzycki: Settlers of the Latrobe Valley, Canberra, The Australian National University, 1964, p. 134.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE PREPARATION FOR PARTICIPATION OF ABORIGINAL CHILDREN

#### INTRODUCTION:

Having a different culture and speaking a different language the Aborigines are faced with similar problems to those of migrants, as we have noted with regard to participation.

'The full-Aborigines have problems similar to foreign migrants in some respects because they have their own language and culture.'<sup>1</sup>

The problem that we must discuss first of all is to know whether we should make a distinction between the full-blood Aborigine and the part-Aborigine.

The part-Aborigine does have problems of a somewhat different order from the full-Aborigine insofar as he has to cope with two cultures and does not fit readily in one group or the other. Yet what interests us here are the linguistic and cultural problems of Aboriginal children. Professor Tatz, Director of the Centre for Research into Aboriginal Affairs, does not take the view that there are two groups of Aborigines.

'No matter how little part Aboriginal they are, the element of Aboriginality makes them very different from the poor white community.'<sup>2</sup>

Thus, when speaking of Aboriginal children, we shall mean both the full-blood and the part-Aborigines, though other writers may take

a different approach to the problem of definition, as we shall see.

In this chapter we shall look specifically at the linguistic and cultural barrier to participation in the educational process.

### I. The Educational Status of Aborigines

Professor Leonard Broom<sup>3</sup>, using figures from the 1966 Census, has studied the educational status of persons who have described themselves and been described, as having 50 per cent or more of Aboriginal ancestry.

Adult Aborigines do not have sufficient of the prerequisite language and culture to find employment in the expanding industries and have generally missed out in finding good employment where education is a stated precondition. Some, an indeterminate number of individuals with Aboriginal blood, have been absorbed into European society, while

'... a modest number have become participants in the larger society while retaining an Aboriginal identity.'

While this 'participation without loss of identity' which Broom has described, is of great interest to us in this work, we must recognize that under present circumstances, the vast majority of Aborigines find themselves neither in a position to participate, or one where they receive any encouragement or assistance in maintaining their identity. It would be difficult to improve upon Broom's statement that

'In modern society the illiterate or poorly educated are social fossils from a simpler time.'<sup>4</sup>



Aborigines have weak educational backgrounds and thus their occupational, financial, health and longevity disadvantages have persisted. In an economy and society of expanding opportunities, Aborigines have fallen further and further behind.

Broom has examined some unpublished figures from the 1966 Census<sup>5</sup> and concluded that at every age Aborigines lag behind their white peers. They enter school later, progress slower and leave school sooner and of course at a lower level. Fifteen per cent of Aboriginal males aged 5-9 had no education, compared with 3.5 per cent of non-Aboriginal males. At 45 years of age, one-half to three-quarters of the Aboriginal male population had had no formal education and may be presumed to be illiterate. Of Aboriginal males aged 25-29 nearly one-quarter had not been to school, nor had one-tenth of those between 15 and 19.

It is possible that many more than those who had never been to school are illiterate. Broom estimates conservatively that one-fifth of Aboriginal males between 20 and 24 are illiterate, while we note that the corresponding figure for non-Aboriginal males would be little over one per cent. At the other end of the educational scale we must note that less than one per cent of Aborigines have achieved the Leaving Certificate.

Illiteracy, including of course 'functional illiteracy' in which those who once were literate may have lost the skill through lack of use, and poor standards of education thus inhibit the participation of Aborigines in jobs other than the rural and unskilled. There are other repercussions as well however.

'The constraining and inhibitory effects of illiteracy and the sense of vulnerability before the authority of the printed word, the official document, the price list, or the column of numbers is an inherent part of the life experience of most adult Aborigines' ... The Aborigine ... '... is often dependent upon the honesty, generosity, forbearance and friendliness of strangers, at best a poor substitute for self-reliance.'<sup>6</sup>

Broom's article is not concerned to find an explanation for this state of affairs, which would be outside its scope. It does draw attention, however, to figures showing the non-attendance of school by Aborigines. In 1966, eleven per cent of Aborigines in the 5-14 age group were not in school; in the Northern Territory it was 18 per cent. The non-attendance of Aborigines in school is explained by Broom as a failure on the part of education authorities. We might add that it is the politicians who have not pressed this issue. Broom takes the view that education to at least Intermediate Certificate level is a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for the vertical mobility of Aborigines. Participation in the sense that we have used it is a far wider concept, allowing for a diversity of possibilities in life. We know from some research into the aspirations of Aboriginal children<sup>7</sup> that some, a few, aspired to "dream jobs" such as 'pilot, engineer, air hostess, or television singer'. Most, however, will be manual workers, or unemployed persons, for the whole of their adult lives. The vast majority of Aboriginal children are in fact fairly realistic in their aspirations, and are influenced by the range of occupations available in their present environment.

Professor Tatz has examined<sup>8</sup> educational needs in relation to facilities available. Precise information is not abundant.

Aboriginal affairs do, in Tatz's view,

'operate in a vacuum, as part of which Departments of Education and Health have stated that separate figures are not kept for Aborigines as a matter of policy';

while one Department stated, Tatz reports, that this statistical information ...

'may be of general interest but its value for educational planning is doubtful.' <sup>9</sup>

This assumption is of course political or social, rather than educational. It has as its underpinning in two other assumptions: firstly, that assimilation or absorption is the desired objective, and secondly, that separate figures might reflect a kind of statistical apartheid. The latter of these is questioned by Tatz who argues that while the avoidance of 'segregation' and 'apartheid' is desirable, the keeping of separate statistics is not, in itself, an example of segregation or discrimination. Moreover, it would not, even in the present situation of poor demographic information, be difficult to identify the pupils or patients in need of extra help: in fact it is imperative. To illustrate his point, Tatz quotes a speaker at a Welfare Conference in Perth in July 1967, who stated that

'... no Aboriginal child today has to forego educational opportunities because of his family's financial position.' <sup>10</sup>

But what is the basis of such a statement when the precise number of Aboriginal children is not known as they are assumed to be in the process of merging? In New South Wales there are said to be 1080 Aboriginal secondary pupils, yet 36 bursaries are provided by the government. <sup>11</sup>

Tatz considers the various phases of the education process

as it applies to Aborigines. Firstly, the pre-school aspect: in an Aboriginal population of about 130,000 in which the proportion of children to adults is remarkably high, the total number of children receiving pre-school education was, when Tatz wrote in 1969, only 2164 - a very small proportion indeed of the eligible number.<sup>12</sup>

The case for pre-school education has now been established among educationists as an essential part of the education process. In the United States, groups of Negro children who have attended pre-school have been compared with groups who have not. Tatz refers to the results of these tests: a clear indication that those children with pre-school experience consistently averaged higher in I.Q. than those who had not and the differences are maintained later.<sup>13</sup>

In adult education there is a striking imbalance in that educational authorities have concentrated their resources on the primary sector. At the time he wrote, 1969, Tatz asserted that apart from staff at Sydney and New England Universities, there are not more than five officers qualified for the education of adult Aborigines and currently engaged in that work.

In 1969 the number of Aboriginal pupils in secondary school was estimated to be 2596. It is clear, despite the absence of precise information, that this is a significantly lower proportion of the relevant age group than for white Australians in the corresponding age group. The low level of attendance by Aborigines in secondary school is attributable to a complex set of factors, but one reason which has been suggested by an Aborigine, Mr. McGinnis, is that in the past Aborigines considered that education to the age of nine

was sufficient.

## II. Explanations for the Education Status of Aborigines.

### Lack of Intelligence

It would be very rare to find any member of the general public prepared to maintain that lack of intelligence is a bar to the participation of migrants in Australian society; for although the nature of participation of some groups may be concentrated in the manual occupations, there are too many spectacular exceptions for such a view to be sustained.

With regard to Aborigines, however, this is not so. Many people have asserted that Aborigines have a 'lower mentality' or intelligence than Europeans, from more or less the first contact, and their views have received impetus from Darwin's theory of evolution.

In 1893 Fiske wrote

'The Australian is more teachable than the ape, but his limit is nevertheless very quickly reached.' 15

The question is still an open one today. Jensen and Eysenck have considered this question. Eysenck quotes Jensen,

'The fact that different racial groups in this country have widely different geographic origins and have had quite different histories which have subjected them to different selective social and economic pressures makes it highly likely that their gene pools differ for some genetically conditioned behavioural characteristics, including intelligence or abstract reasoning ability. Nearly every anatomical,

physiological, and biochemical system investigated shows racial differences.<sup>16</sup>  
Why should the brain be an exception?

Jensen's theory of innate racial differences,<sup>17</sup> has received some apparent support from the findings of most studies of Aboriginal intelligence, in which the Aboriginal population has received lower test scores than the white Australian population. But when the tests themselves are examined it becomes clear that the question of comparative racial intelligence is meaningless, because cultural factors are involved and these cannot be tested in a comparative way.

McElwain and Kearney<sup>18</sup> argue that the lower intelligence test scores of Aboriginal children by comparison with Australian children of European descent does not refute the view that there is no difference between the two groups in terms of genetically based intelligence. The mean score for Aboriginal children increases with increasing European contact. However, among Aboriginal children, certain characteristic weaknesses in problem-solving tactics have come to light. These, the two psychologists suggest, may arise from linguistic and experiential factors in childhood, rather than in innate or genetic difference.

Over thirty years ago, Professor Elkin drew attention to the cultural bias of intelligence tests.

'... the tests are matters of culture and traditions and not just of individual mental capacity', ... 'to respond to another culture, or to parts of it, is a very difficult matter indeed.' <sup>19</sup>

Whether a truly 'culture-free' or 'culture-fair' test has ever been, or ever will be, devised is very difficult to say. With regard to

the Aborigine it seems clear that we must accept either that Aboriginal intelligence is lower, or that the tests have a cultural bias.

A well-known attempt to provide a satisfactory test was that of I.G. Ord in his selection test for the Pacific Islands Regiment in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, which became known as the PIR Test, and which was modified by McElwain and Kearney whereupon it became known as the Queensland Test. This test is administered individually, with a mean time of between 45 and 60 minutes. It is completely non-verbal in administration and response, it is non-representational, and its goals are clear. Over one thousand Aboriginal children and adults have been tested so far, ranging from Dunwich to Stradbroke Island near Brisbane, where European contact has been high, through Cherbourg and Palm Island where contact has been moderate, to Areyonga, Papunya and Maningrida in the Northern Territory where contact has been low. It has also been applied for comparison in Brisbane primary schools and to deaf white Australian children in Brisbane. The result of this testing, write McElwain and Kearney, is that

'... The Aboriginal groups are inferior to Europeans, and in approximately the same degree as they have lacked contact with Europeans groups. The Dunwich children give results very close to those for European children, the Palm Island results are lower and the remote areas of the Northern Territory are further depressed.'<sup>20</sup>

If this lower scale of test performance is not genetic in origin, what is its cause?

'the first barrier is linguistic,'<sup>21</sup>

wrote McElwain and Kearney. The investigations carried out by N.W.M. Hart have shown that among Aboriginal children at Cherbourg, seven-year old children had a 'verbal (auditory-vocal automatic and sequencing) processing capacity' in English at about the same level as three-year old European children. Hart has shown that the same kind of deficit occurs with profoundly deaf European children.<sup>22</sup> An Aboriginal child thus commences his European-type education with a deficit in the skills and experience which may be taken for granted in a European child.

McElwain and Kearney identify the very same problem of a low participation that we have seen.

'The immediate problem presents itself as a minority, economically, socially and educationally depressed, amid a situation with rising racial antagonism.'<sup>23</sup>

The answer they see is educational, as we have done, and linguistic, also, to

'Provide a preschool and infant school education which places considerable weight on the acquisition of linguistic and quantitative skills.'<sup>24</sup>

Recognizing the cultural and educational basis of the problem, they observe that

'... the problem is soluble. But it is not simply a matter of goodwill.'<sup>25</sup>

Apart from its confirmation of our view here that 'goodwill' alone is not enough to solve social problems, we are in agreement except that we may find cause to question their analysis and the conclusion is that while recognizing the linguistic nature of the problem, they have not discussed the question of maintenance of the mother tongue



and its cultural and sociological implications. Thus, while indebted to these psychologists for the precision and objectivity of their analysis, we must turn to linguists and anthropologists for a more positive and far-reaching solution.

The work of psychologists in the area of Aboriginal intelligence has not been confined to intelligence testing. Quite a lot of work has been done in what is now coming to be known as Psycholinguistics, and this is sometimes related to the study of 'cultural deprivation'. In an article appearing in the Australian Psychologist, Dr. B. Nurcombe and Mr. P. Moffitt<sup>26</sup> have related cultural deprivation and language deficit. The word 'deprivation', they note, refers to a dispossession or loss. In sociology and psychology it has become synonymous with 'privation' or hardship resulting from an insufficiency of the necessities of a healthy life. This we find raised the problem of functionalism: is there an analogy between an organism and a society (or individual)? The concept of 'cultural deprivation' thus opens up the question of the functional prerequisites of a healthy cultural functioning, the same question, in fact, that Talcott Parsons and his critics have grappled with.<sup>27</sup> If, however, we are prepared to specify the area of deprivation when we speak of 'cultural deprivation', the problem of functional prerequisites is avoided. In the case of Aborigines we can hypothesize a deprivation of socialisation in Western culture. As well as Western culture, however, Aborigines often suffer a deprivation of nutrition, as we have already observed. Nurcombe and Moffitt point to the research of Winick who has accumulated evidence to the effect that early malnutrition can have serious effects upon brain development.<sup>28</sup>

This kind of physiological deprivation creates a pool of adults who pass the problem of malnutrition on to their off-spring. The findings of research upon humans and animals indicates that, notes Nurcombe and Moffitt,

'... subnutrition during the period from conception to - at most - twelve months, in the human infant, is likely to lead to irreversible deficits in braincell population, myelination of nerve tracts and cognitive functioning.' <sup>29</sup>

Moreover, malnutrition at birth is likely to be accompanied by an overcrowded, insanitary environment whereby a child is exposed to many pathogenic influences resulting in typically, gastro-enteritis, chronic respiratory disease, and ear, nose and throat infection.

At the cultural level, deprivation is often, according to the writers of the article under examination, an accompaniment of physiological deprivation. The life of the typical fringe-dwelling Aboriginal child is largely conditioned by its environment, which is anti-authoritarian, has little privacy, property or anticipation, and in which he develops feelings of fatalism, helplessness, dependence and inferiority. His verbal capacity upon entering school is at least eighteen months below the norm, and he will not catch up, dropping instead further and further behind (as Broom has noted also). His most significant deprivation from the educational point of view is one of 'patterns of experience': his home typically contains no books, magazines or pictures. Adults speak or read to him infrequently, preferring instead to comfort and reassure him with the physical contact of their bodies, or feeding. They are, moreover, poor language models, so that he will grow up with severely limited

communication skills. At school, communication between middle-class European teachers and Aboriginal parents is fraught with feelings of resentment and intrusion.

Several approaches to the breaking of this series of interlocking and self-perpetuating vicious circles have been suggested, based on overcoming the problem of the 'impoverishment of language' in precedence to any other area of difficulty. One approach is that of the 'verbal bombardment' in which teachers employ 'unstructured verbal stimulation' by talking constantly to their children in their care, regardless of response. Another approach focusses the attention of the teachers on the task of overcoming specific psycholinguistic deficits. The most severely affected functions have been shown to be syntax, the comprehension of verbal input, the capacity to form associations between verbal symbols in terms of similarity, class, part-whole relations, and the ability to express ideas in words.

Only a remedial programme can do something to change the present situation and this will not succeed, in the view of Nurcombe and Moffitt,

'... until the culture of the people involved  
is emphatically understood.' 30

To well-educated and comfortably placed white Australian readers, the picture of the life of a culturally deprived Aboriginal child may not appear pleasant. Yet in their article, Dr. Nurcombe, a member of the medical profession, and Mr. Moffitt, a psychologist, have offered an insight into the richness of the experience of the culturally deprived, and done so with a rare degree of feeling and imagination.

'Evidence has been gathering, both here and overseas, of a different set of factors. Extrapolating from experimental work on animals, it has been suggested that the culturally deprived child has been subjected to a dull, sterile environment bereft of meaningful stimulation. This is manifestly untrue. In some ways the reverse is the case. The fringe-dwelling child has sticks, stones, broken bottles, old car bodies, empty kerosene tins, the sky and the river as his playthings. He sees around him the whole panoply of emotional life. People love, fight, separate and reunite with an openness foreign to a middle-class suburb. He is exposed very early to the realities of human experience.'<sup>31</sup>

This discussion may be related to one which has been started in the United Kingdom by Professor Bernstein, who has in his investigations of the language of working class and middle class English children,<sup>32</sup> recognized two distinct codes of speech. The 'elaborated' code of the middle class children promotes intellectual processes while the 'restricted' code of the working class children inhibits it.

'... elaborated codes orient their users towards universalistic meanings, whereas restricted codes orient, sensitize, their users to particularistic meanings.'<sup>33</sup>

The restricted codes have the effect of localizing social relationships, while the elaborated codes provide their users with more of a potentiality for social change. The elaborated codes are based more on rationality and the restricted codes are based more on metaphor. Access to codes of language use is through roles and these are influenced by social class, in fact, Bernstein takes the view that

'... access is controlled by the class system.'<sup>34</sup>

This interpretation of the relationship between language,

social class and socialisation is highly plausible, so long as one does not attempt to strictly apportion primacy of causality to any one of the factors, as indeed Bernstein himself does not do.

Bernstein has nonetheless been the subject of attack, but from a different direction. In his study of Negro children in America, Labov<sup>35</sup> has argued that

'The concept of verbal deprivation has no basis in social reality: in fact, Negro children in the urban ghettos receive a great deal of verbal stimulation, hear more well-formed sentences than middle-class children, and participate fully in a highly verbal culture; they have the same basic vocabulary, possess the same capacity for conceptual learning, and use the same logic as anyone else who learns to speak and understand English.' <sup>36</sup>

Labov attacks Bernstein specifically

'... Bernstein's views are filtered through a strong bias against all forms of working class behaviour so that middle-class language is seen as superior in every respect ...' <sup>37</sup>

Labov sees the 'elaborated' language of middle-class children as an elaborated style rather than an elaborated code, and moreover, he sees no connection between verbal skill and success in the classroom.<sup>38</sup> Verbal deficiency does not, to Labov, explain the lack of academic success of Negro children. Instead, he attributes it to 'the social and cultural obstacles to learning',<sup>39</sup> so that it is necessary not to 'repair the child', but rather the school. The peer group does, in his investigations, appear to provide the essential language model of the child, and the rare child from the kind of background under investigation who does succeed academically, is typically one who has first been rejected by his peer group.

The conclusion we may draw here is that an 'Operation

Headstart' programme, which has not succeeded in America, is no more likely to succeed in Australia if it were applied to Aboriginal children. Quite apart from the educational defects of the programme the situation of Aboriginal children is quite distinct from that of American Negroes with whom it may have no relevance whatsoever. However, Labov's idea that it is the school rather than the child that should be restructured is an impressive one. Certainly we would be disinclined, in the extreme, to dismiss the language or culture of the Aborigines as 'deprived' or 'deficient' no matter at what stage of transition it may be.

Another approach to the question of Aboriginal culture from the medical point of view, which throws additional light on the subject, has been discussed by J.E. Cawte and L.G. Kiloh, in their article 'Language and Pictorial Representation, Implications for Transcultural Psychiatry.'<sup>40</sup> These two writers commence their study with the observation that

'The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, that language heuristically shapes our experiencing of the physical world, has received varied acceptance from linguists and anthropologists. On the whole it has been neglected by psychiatrists, though for them it would seem an important hypothesis.'<sup>41</sup>

The article draws attention to the analysis by Weinstein<sup>42</sup> of transcultural psychiatric data from the Virgin Islands. In these islands, which are characterised by a diversified linguistic and cultural environment, the content and possibly other aspects of psychiatric disorders are conspicuously regulated by the use of language.

In Australia, transcultural psychiatry has drawn attention to the significance of language. In order to gain an indication of the effect of language upon perception in Aborigines, Professors Cawte and Kiloh examined pictorial representation in some bilingual Aboriginal children in Central Australia. The technique they used was Adler's<sup>43</sup> 'cross-cultural fruit-tree study' in which children are invited to 'Draw a picture - any scene, in colour - with a fruit tree in it.' When the drawing was completed, the child was asked to name what kind of fruit-bearing tree it was that he had drawn. This technique allowed a comparison of children's drawings from many countries, and enabled a study of the influence of an introduced cultural environment in contrast with that of the natural environment.

Cawte and Kiloh used this technique to study the effect of language upon culture among the children at Yuendumu, a Walbiri Settlement in Central Australia. These children were taught English at school but used the Walbiri vernacular in the playground and at home. They were the main bilingual group of Walbiri people and had had less than twenty years of contact with European society. With the exception of the very few children who had visited Adelaide, most had never seen an apple tree though they regularly ate apples. The fruit trees growing in the region of their settlement were orange or lemon, or indigenous trees of an entirely different kind.

The instruction to draw a tree was given separately, in both English and Walbiri. The result was that when instructed in English, the children drew a tree of an introduced variety, and when instructed in Walbiri they drew a native one.

<u>Fruit Tree</u>	<u>Instruction in Walbiri</u>	<u>Instruction in English</u>
Introduced	14	48
Native	67	25

The conclusion Cawte and Kiloh draw is that

'... language appears to influence representation of the world by Aborigines, (and) it will need to be taken into account in future work on their mental and personality disorders, and on their psychology in general.' 45

What has been the official attitudes of Education Departments towards the question of Aboriginal intelligence? Are Aboriginal children less intelligent than the children of the white part of the Australian population in the view of officials?

During a seminar held in August 1967 on educational problems of Aborigines, the Minister for Education in Victoria, the Hon. Lindsay Thompson, stated:

"Unfortunately I believe many people came to the conclusion that the Aboriginal race was inferior in some way because of the performance of Aboriginal children at school, but I think now that it has been fairly conclusively proved that their poor performance was due to persistent environmental factors rather than any weaknesses of heredity."

That this view has been held in official circles is well known. The Annual Report of the N.S.W. Aborigines Welfare Board for 1961 stated that, with regard to the small number of Aboriginal children complete secondary school,

'... this trait might be caused by several factors, the principal one being that Aboriginal children, as a whole, do not



possess an intelligence quotient comparable to that of their white counterparts.' 47

Other reasons were also advanced for this situation, but in the following year the Annual Report of the same Board stated that further investigations 'discounted any suggestion that one reason might be a lower intelligence quotient, as compared with white children';<sup>48</sup> moreover, the primary factors appear to have been the absence of home study facilities and parental encouragement, and possibly the lack of a basic academic foundation upon which to build.

The main evidence advanced to support the claim of those who take the view that Aborigines have a lower intelligence is the results of the I.Q. tests administered in schools. It cannot be denied that Aborigines tend to score below average in these tests but there is abundant evidence from psychologists and sociologists that these tests are influenced by social and cultural factors which throw their validity into question.

The tests measure the current mental working level and performance of pupils, rather than actual innate ability. Innate ability or potential is sometimes referred to as "Intelligence A" whilst the working level is referred to as "Intelligence B". If steps are taken to compensate the effects of social and cultural deprivation, the working level and thus the measured intelligence quotient can be raised significantly. While the tests do give a fair indication of further performance this prognosis is based on the assumption that there will be no significant change in the working habits and attitudes of the pupils concerned. Far too frequently test results are interpreted as a valid measure of basic intelligence, and many Aboriginal

students are 'written off' long before they enter secondary classes. Until appropriate steps are taken to meet the effect of social and cultural deprivation, the present wastage of talent among under-privileged children will continue. The UNESCO Committee on Race shows an awareness of this situation and states

'It is now generally recognized that intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education. Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characteristics among all human groups.' 49

### III. The Language Barrier

#### Importance of Vernacular

Scholars involved in educational research have discovered the importance of the vernacular language to children. Mr. L. Grey, a pre-school officer for the Maori Education Foundation in New Zealand, has noticed a lot of hesitation and reluctance among Maori people to express themselves in English. He also found that he was obliged to learn their language in order to communicate with them. He then wrote that he witnessed "a resurgence of awareness that you express yourself best in the language you have learnt at your mother's knee". 50

This reluctance and hesitation also exists amongst Aborigines. It is not enough to say 'they can speak English' because this is to assume as Chudleigh says 'something that does not exist, an understanding

of what they are speaking'.<sup>51</sup> He relates the case of a man who spoke fairly good English and could express himself fluently, and yet still said: "You know I find it very hard to talk in this language. This is not my language. I cannot tell you what I feel." He added: "You might hear some of our people talking very good English, but they don't know what they are talking about: they are not putting their thinking into their words; it is not their tongue."<sup>52</sup> It seems therefore that even if an Aborigine speaks fluent English it is difficult for him to really communicate his thoughts, his feelings for English cannot be 'a real vehicle of expression for him'.<sup>53</sup>

In his article, 'Experience in the use of the Vernacular as an Introductory Medium of Instruction',<sup>54</sup> the Revd. W.H. Edwards, Superintendent of the Ernabella Mission, South Australia, quoted the now famous UNESCO definition of a vernacular language:

'A language which is the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language,' ... moreover ... 'it is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue.'<sup>55</sup>

The psychological, sociological and educational arguments in support of this statement are worth quoting at some length,

'Every child is born into a cultural environment; the language is both a part of, and an expression of that environment ... He will, therefore, find it difficult to grasp any new concept which is so alien to his cultural environment that it cannot readily find expression in his mother tongue ... if the foreign language belongs to a culture very different from his own ... then his learning difficulties are greatly increased: he comes into contact, not only with a new language, but also with new concepts. Ideas which have been formulated in one language are so difficult to express through the modes of another, that a person habitually

faced with this task can readily lose his facility to express himself. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and school as small as possible. We consider that the shock which the young child undergoes in passing from his home to his school life is so great that everything possible should be done to soften it ... To expect him to deal with new information or ideas presented to him in an unfamiliar language is to impose on him a double burden ... The use of the mother tongue will promote better understanding between the home and the school when the child is taught in the language of the home. What he learns can easily be expressed or applied in the home ... Recent experience in many places proves that an equal or better command of the second language can be imparted if the school begins with the mother tongue as the medium of instruction, subsequently introducing the second language as a subject of instruction. 56

Despite the abundance of evidence from research and hard-won experience as to the overwhelmingly powerful case for education in the vernacular, until recently the education of Aboriginal children was done wholly in English. At the Conference of Local High School Directors held in Sydney during May 1967, there was a lengthy discussion on the special difficulties faced by Aboriginal people entering the Australian education system. It was decided that a Summer School on 'Aboriginal Education and the Teacher's Role' should be held, and in mid January 1968, the Summer School took place in Sydney. The findings, as far as the teaching of children was concerned, were that 'teachers should have a basic knowledge of the Aboriginal language of the community in which they are working',<sup>57</sup> to allow them to communicate with 'the Aboriginal group as equals and advisors not as pedagogues and supervisors.' 58

What were the difficulties faced by the children?

The Aboriginal child faces not only the difficulty of learning to read and write and count but had to learn all of these in a language which is largely meaningless. There was mentioned the case of a little boy<sup>59</sup> aged about eight years who came to a school in mid-year while his parents were visiting the mission for seasonal corroborees. When asked to sit in a vacant seat he did not respond. The teacher then addressed the child, not in English but in an Aboriginal language and the child then obeyed the teacher's request. Since it was the first time that child had left his land he knew nothing about the European ways of life and sat on the desk putting his feet on the chair. The culture shock of such children is very great and they have to be taught from first principles everything of the way of life that Europeans accept as normal and natural. Language and culture are inseparable, as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis holds. If the language does not allow for words like chairs and tables it is because the sitting habits of certain tribes are different from the societies which use tables and chairs.

There are many examples of the way the Aboriginal languages reflect the Aboriginal culture. In some areas of Australia the Aboriginal language has words only for 'one', 'two' and 'three'. "The concept of 'four' was transmitted by talking of 'two-two', 'five' was 'three-two' and so on. Any quantity beyond 'seven' was dubbed 'many'. Not only did numeration and notation require much extra time, but multiplication and division were almost impossible to communicate. Increasing quantities were regarded in terms of addition rather than multiplication, for, as has been illustrated, 'five' was seen as

'three-two' in the vernacular." <sup>60</sup>

Not only must we try to teach the Aboriginal children in their own language, writes Mitchell, but we must also try to learn more about their culture and respect the traditions accordingly. 'Cultural factors must be considered if abstract concepts are to be presented accurately.'<sup>61</sup> Until recently all the teaching was done in English. If the vernacular is used at home, then it should be used at school too in the early stages. This is not, however, the policy of most Education Departments, which insist on teaching only in English from the beginning.

If the vernacular-speaking child is taught in his own language until about the middle of primary school and then is gradually changed over to English he will make much faster progress than if he is taught in English from the outset.<sup>62</sup>

Most of these children have lived in a tribal state and are still semi-nomadic. They have little contact with civilization through the government officers and official visitors. For these reasons new curricula have to be sought. In the northwest Reserve at Musgrove Park, a school has opened with a special curriculum as devised by a Curriculum Committee.<sup>63</sup>

It has been decided that schooling will start in the vernacular for 'research suggests that children who achieve literacy in their mother tongue subsequently achieve literacy in a second language more readily and more successfully than children whose first attempts at literacy are in a foreign language.'<sup>64</sup>

For a child's education to be successful he must feel that he

is backed by his parents. It is very difficult for an Aboriginal child to tell his parents what he has done at school. Firstly because the illiterate parents are not interested, and secondly, because the use of the English language is a barrier between parents and children. There is the case reported by McMeekin of an adolescent who resented the use of the Aboriginal vernacular on the reservation and refused to reply when addressed in anything but English, yet the Aboriginal adults affirmed that this boy was well grounded in the traditions of the people as well as their language.<sup>65</sup> Parents see the white education as a threat to the family life.

The parents have not got the same concept of discipline as in white Australian society. In the Aboriginal traditions a boy of a certain age must not be hit by a woman. Some women teachers have had difficulty in adapting themselves to this kind of male-dominated society. 'They may be attacked by an irate father', wrote Chudleigh,

'... the people do not understand, the teacher does not understand, they do not know each other's languages and frustrations, and the teacher is attacked. One teacher had a man take off his belt to her and give her a belting. This was a very primitive Pintubi man, a man with a considerable amount of self-respect; but obviously they were not communicating. He was probably communicating that he lived in a male-dominated society and that she had stepped out of line.'<sup>66</sup>

The attendance at school of Aboriginal children is very poor. If, for example, it has been observed, the children have no clean clothes, or if they have a cut on their finger, they will not come to school.

We have seen how important the use of vernacular is to

Aboriginal children and we have presented the difficulties that arise from teaching children wholly in English. The solution to the linguistic problem is to teach English as a foreign language when the child is literate enough to absorb the intricacies of a foreign language. Before this is possible the teachers will have to learn the Aboriginal language. What are the facilities for the teachers to do so?

The Learning of Vernacular Languages  
by Teachers

In 1968, the first course in the Pitjantjatjara language was held in the language laboratory of the Adelaide University in South Australia. The organisers of such a course had to face a great deal of initial resistance from some white Australians who thought that it was absurd for white Australians to learn native languages in order to communicate. In fact there were a number of other difficulties as well:

- a) a paucity of reading and study materials,
- b) the teacher is required to learn the language,  
with all its concomitant difficulties,
- c) little use is made of the language beyond the  
immediate region. 67

But all these difficulties are outweighed by the first duty of the teacher to communicate with the pupils. Sometimes it has been said that since some of the people were proficient in English, it was unnecessary for the teachers to speak a native language. But



as we have noted at the beginning of this chapter, Aborigines who are fluent in English do not always communicate fully with native English speakers. Field workers, doctors, nurses and missionaries have noticed that

'Aborigines can nod their heads and say yes, but their subsequent actions often show that they have not really understood the issue. Very few of them can communicate in depth outside their own native language.' 68

A course was thus created to respond to the needs for teachers to speak an Aboriginal language. Possibly the most effective way of teaching languages to adults is by means of language laboratory courses for as the director of the course observed,

'language learning is not only a matter of insight, but also of skills and habits. We are interested in producing language performers rather than solid grammarians, for language is essentially a means of communication. This is why a course such as ours devotes a good deal of time to repetition, imitation, questions and answers, and oral drilling of structures.' 69

The Department of Adult Education in the University of Adelaide, which sponsored the course, received about 45 applications sponsored by the S.A. Department of Aboriginal Affairs and the S.A. Education Department. Some nursing sisters, clerks, research workers were also amongst these applicants. The lessons lasted five hours per day for three weeks. Grammar and pronunciation were taught in the first period to the whole group. Then two groups were formed; one went to the language laboratory while the other had private study in tutorial, and then the two groups were switched around. After lunch the whole procedure was repeated.

Was the course successful? The majority, it seems, gained a

solid knowledge of the elements of the language and if they practised it straight away with the Aborigines their knowledge would probably have been lasting. Even if their knowledge fades away, they will have no doubt retained a few phrases which would be enough to show those Aboriginal people who fall into their sphere of contact that they had gone to some trouble to understand them. 'Even one phrase will help to establish a bond of good will, it is a token of willingness to meet them halfway, and for this the Aborigines are very grateful.'<sup>70</sup> One teacher said that by using 'for instance "dubbi" there and "bogle" here (i.e. boys and girls)',<sup>71</sup> with the children, the contact was closer straight away because these children felt that 'I was not looking down on Aborigines, I was using their language'.<sup>72</sup>

Using the language of the Aborigines is to establish a new level of communication, and this is the prime duty of a teacher. If more schools like the one described are opened, the relations between Aborigines and white Australians will, it may be predicted, be eased considerably.

The teachers entering the course of Aboriginal studies could be required to complete the language laboratory course in Pitjantjatjara. They will have practical experience not only of learning a new language but of experiencing the difficulties of trying to express themselves in another completely different tongue if this is their first contact with the process of foreign-language learning.<sup>73</sup>

It is very important for a teacher to be aware of the difficulties that Aboriginal children experience in learning a new language, a new way of life, new concepts that they have never suspected nor encountered. The teachers themselves, it is reported, realise this

important factor, and some take the view that 'we have got to put ourselves into the position of pupils and anybody who is going to teach vernacular-speaking Aborigines ought first to learn the language.'<sup>74</sup>

#### IV. Strategies for solving the Problem of Aboriginal Education.

##### The teaching of English to Aboriginal Children.

We have seen that the teachers had to learn the vernacular to teach the Aboriginal children and try to establish communication. However, these children who are being educated will mix eventually with English-speaking Australians and, like the European migrants, they will have to learn to express themselves in English if they want to participate in Australian society. It is therefore obvious that English should be introduced in schools for economic and occupational reasons. 'It should be introduced' wrote Mitchell, 'as a foreign language, beginning about the third year of schooling. In subsequent years the amount of instruction in English could be liberalised until eventually it has replaced the local tongue and the medium of instruction and communication.'<sup>75</sup>

Teaching English as a foreign language presents many difficulties for the teachers who have 'to transform that silent, inactive array of printed symbols into living speech.'<sup>76</sup> Most European migrants' children have less difficulty in learning the English language than the Aboriginal children who come from a non-literate

environment.

The aims of teaching English to Aboriginal children are to develop in them

'the ability to use English as a means of communication, both oral and written. They should be able to converse naturally, to understand normal speech, to read and understand English and to be able to communicate with others in writing.'

It is necessary that all the experience, practice and instruction that English speaking children have in their home environment be given in the context of the school for the Aboriginal children. The curriculum must therefore be in accordance to these needs to enable the pupils to become proficient in this new language.

It is only when the child has developed the ability to hear and speak that he can be expected to commence formal reading and writing.<sup>78</sup>

It should be stressed that English is 'not the mother tongue of many of our Aborigines and as such must be taught as a foreign language and not treated as in our normal schools.'<sup>79</sup> Adults should be taught English to allow them not only to help their children but to participate in the society that surrounds them in a more significant way than they are at present equipped to do. However, they often lack the incentive to learn English and are very slow to make any decisions or take any action in this regard.

A social worker in Alice Springs, Northern Territory, has written,

'I have an English class of full blood Aborigines, but I sowed the seed for this

class two years ago. They like to thrash over serious matters, leave them and come back to them. We are in the habit of going on impatiently and making decisions immediately. If a government official is involved, Aborigines will give a decision they know he wants, because it will save a lot of bother and he will not listen to anything else anyway, so he goes away with a decision. If it is somebody friendly they give the decision they know he wants, because he conveys this by subtle intonations. But it will not be their decision and it will not get anywhere. Almost two years and finally, a man came to me and said: "Some of us want that English class we have been talking about, so that we can learn better English and learn to read and write." ' 80

It was agreed that the Aborigines would come every Saturday morning in the social worker's office which was situated seven miles away from their settlement. There was no regular bus service. The first week four adults attended. The following week one man was present, his wife was sick and two others were doing some shopping. It was then decided that the teacher would go to the settlement every Monday night. Eight men and twenty women attended the class. As well as situational material the teacher gave them writing exercises and suggested that they practice between one week and the next, and then the next week give them some new symbols. In this situation for part of the lesson he was able to effectively use the language laboratory method and to motivate the people. Motivation was not automatically present and the instruction had to proceed at the people's own pace. 81

These courses for adults were not always successful. A literacy course at Coober Pedy failed for different reasons although the teachers were very keen to help. One of the teachers involved

explained the failure in this way:

'Firstly, the setting was not particularly suitable for adults, stuck as they were, in a school building with small desks and so on. Secondly, was the attitude of the two groups as expressed by dress. The Aborigines were dressed up as for a formal occasion, we were dressed in casual shorts. Thirdly, we used well prepared teaching aids and I suspect that these were not suitable for such a group of adult learners. However the two most serious reasons for failure are firstly our complete lack of training for teaching either adults or literacy (we were primary children teachers) and secondly our European haste in getting the course going.

We did not have lengthy discussions and subsequent decision making by the Aboriginal community. Our enthusiasm may have killed chances of further courses for a number of years.'<sup>82</sup>

Another mistake at Coober Pedy was to attempt to teach English first without any literacy in the vernacular to help the learning of this foreign language.

The chief motivation for the Aborigines to learn English is to 'get on'. However more is involved than this. Some Aboriginal groups have said: 'the white man has got a secret and he won't tell what it is.'<sup>83</sup> This is not the whole reason but it may partially explain how the desire to learn English can be kindled in various areas. Many Aborigines feel, it is reported, that 'English was for shopping and when looking for jobs'.<sup>84</sup>

The situation as compared with the situation  
in North America.

'When dealing with children of a difference culture, with considerable language handicaps, the need becomes paramount for teachers to know exactly where they are going and how to

achieve their goals.<sup>85</sup>

These aspects are well recognized in Canada and the United States where competent specialists are appointed to teach Indians and Eskimoes. One officer only has been appointed to deal with curriculum matters in the implementation of the Aboriginal education programme.<sup>86</sup>

The Australian Government is working towards implementation of one of the recommendations of the Watts & Gallacher Report<sup>87</sup> to provide an additional six months training for graduating teachers, in Darwin. It will cover Aboriginal welfare policy and programme; lectures on aspects of Aboriginal life; demonstration lessons at Bagot school and practice teaching at selected schools.

'We have recognized the importance of Aboriginal participation and have had Aboriginal representations at all our conferences conducted in the Northern Territory in recent years, but I feel there is a need for the Aboriginal point of view to be explored at a much greater depth,<sup>88</sup>

wrote Gallacher.

In the Northern Territory, Aboriginal teaching assistants have been appointed to schools under the direction and supervision of the Head teacher. Their duties are threefold:

- 1) To act as a buffer to Aboriginal children coming into a new environment and a new situation. When small children feel insecure and when they 'do not understand the instructions given in a new language, i.e. English'<sup>89</sup> they go to him. The assistant acts as an interpreter using the Aboriginal language when the teacher is having

difficulty with the concept in the English language;

- ii) to take small groups of children for language, spelling and table drills and look after the class when the teacher is away;
- iii) to take on the responsibility of organising that aspect of the education programme which embraces Aboriginal art, music, dancing, craft and the telling of Aboriginal stories. He should also provide information to the teacher about those aspects of Aboriginal culture which are necessary to the understanding of the Aboriginal child.<sup>90</sup>

These cultural go-betweens and interpreters have been trained over the years and it is hoped that a full year's training course will be developed.

Gallacher states that in Australia much better use is being made of these vernacular-speaking teaching assistants than is the case in either Canada or the United States

'In fact, in some areas, actions has only now commenced to make provision for the appointment of teaching assistants from among the native peoples.'<sup>91</sup>

Both Education divisions in Canada and the United States of America place a great emphasis on guidance, both educational and personal. Some form of guidance is provided in the Northern Territory schools, but only on an incidental basis, by devoted and dedicated teachers.

The need for guidance is very great to encourage the Aboriginal child to make these necessary social and cultural adjustments that are



required in order that he may live effectively and happily in a rapidly changing modern world.<sup>92</sup> But the situation is not always pessimistic, some Aboriginal children have been able to bridge the gap between two cultures and learn to select what is relevant and meaningful from both.

The teaching of English as a second language seems, according to J. Gallacher, more advanced in Australia where it is done than in Canada or the United States. The method used in the Northern Territory is 'the situational method' in which the teacher keeps as silent as possible allowing for pupils to actively participate by speaking themselves. The defect with the method generally used in North America is that reading and writing situations are introduced much too early since the child has to translate in his own language to conceptualise. The Aboriginal children have a better English pronunciation than their counterparts in North America because they are introduced to the learning of English from a very early age. For some years now pre-schools have been operating on most settlements and missions in the Northern Territory. Children enter pre-schools at the age of three and a half and are immediately exposed to English as a second language before they have internalized the sound structures peculiar to their own language. It is not so in North America where Indian and Eskimo children do not usually commence school until they are six years and should they come from a village where only their vernacular is spoken it becomes difficult for them to master new sounds at this late stage.

The material used to teach English to Indian and Eskimo

children covers the many facets of Indian and Eskimo culture which are so well known to the children but are presented in an English language content. Similar material could be used to teach Aboriginal children.

### Special Schools or Integration for Aborigines?

The problem of linguistic minorities exist outside of

Australia in, for example, North America, Malaysia and New Zealand. These minorities have special problems in the educational system and several solutions present themselves to the governments concerned. They have been defined by Professor Philip as follows:<sup>93</sup>

1) separate schools for each linguistic group as in Brussels or Beirut 'thus reinforcing the majority division and creating new problems related to equality of educational and occupational opportunity.'<sup>94</sup>

11) Schools which present all instruction in the majority language and either allow other institutions to teach in other tongues or withdraw minority languages from the school system. A technique of this kind, he notes, while in the long run may lead to greater communication, clearly increases the difficulties of minorities by placing their children at a considerable cultural and social disadvantage, except where very intensive programmes are developed to assist them to learn the language and culture of the majority group.<sup>95</sup>

This solution has been adopted by the United States of America,

Canada, New Zealand and also Australia for the great numbers of Europeans who have migrated.

iii) Separate linguistic schools or classes at primary level and majority language instruction in secondary schools, universities and other tertiary level institutions. This solution has difficulties attached to it as we have seen while studying the way in which Aboriginal children should be taught, i.e. first years of teaching done in their vernacular then in English, and necessity for the teachers to learn Aboriginal languages.

This solution has been put into practice in the Philippines where, within the same schools, children begin to learn the local vernacular, shifting slowly to the national language, Tagalog, during the elementary grades and from this to English for most secondary and tertiary work. As a result, in the city of Manila (except for older, recent immigrants from other areas of the Islands), there is no real linguistic minority, in Philp's view.<sup>96</sup>

What can we hope to achieve for Aborigines through  
the educational programme?

Should we have the same educational programmes for these children as for the other Australian children?

'If they are to be equipped to become fully responsible contributing members of the Australian community, they need, as do all children, to develop higher cognitive abilities, a flexibility in thinking, a sense of zest and enthusiasm for facing the future, a willingness to strive, social skills, technological skills, and above all, a favourable self concept,'

wrote the educationalist, Dr. Watts.<sup>97</sup>

In earlier years Aborigines were placed in segregated schools since, it was believed, they were unable to profit from the normal educational programme and in Queensland for example, the aim was to 'take them to grade 4 level with concentration on the basic skills and tool subjects.'<sup>98</sup> Now, since it has been recognized that Aborigines have the same rights as all other Australians, segregated schools are being abolished. However, many Aboriginal children have failed to make adequate progress. Dr. Watts considers various reasons which, according to her, are at the basis of the poor academic success. 'School education cannot work in a vacuum', she notes,<sup>99</sup> and therefore the parental attitudes to the schooling of their children have to be considered since it is the parents' role to give their children the adequate motivation and the will to succeed, to get on. But what interests us the most in the scope of this study is 'the general cognitive and verbal development of the children.'<sup>100</sup>

Language and thought being inter-dependent upon one another, as we have seen in Part I, has meant that scholars have been particularly interested in environmental conditions affecting language development. The degree of contact a child has with his parents, the language model offered by them, and their reinforcement of his speech activities are important determinants of his language and cognitive development. In the typical middle-class home, settings for verbal interchange are created and utilised. By contrast, lower social class and 'culturally deprived' children tend to live in a much more impoverished verbal environment, and as a consequence exhibit 'verbal and cognitive retardation', in Watt's view,<sup>101</sup> as she refers to Bernstein's view that the restricted language code is

a major cause of educational difficulty for lower class children.<sup>102</sup>

Thus the problems that an English-speaking child from a lower class has, are multiplied for a non-English speaking Aboriginal child. Then to all these difficulties we must add the stress of learning a foreign language and then comes a realization of the magnitude of the problem confronting Aboriginal children before they will be in a position to participate in Australian society in any meaningful way.

We can certainly associate the poor academic success of Aboriginal children with linguistic difficulties. This factor has been recognized widely and special attention is being given to it in the new curricula since the school is recognized as having a major responsibility to develop the talents of young Aborigines,

'... to help them to feel a pride and confidence in self and to equip them to become fully functioning and fully accepted members of the wider Australian community',<sup>103</sup>

and we must see that they are given as a tool of communication and a means to integration and participation, the knowledge of the English language. We have noted the agreement of anthropologists, psychologists, teachers, missionaries, linguists and all those who have studied Aboriginal education. The problem is not one of identifying the problem, or of finding a strategy to solve it. The problem is one of persuading the general public and their elected representatives, that the whole society has so much to gain from the meaningful participation of Aborigines and the maintenance of the unique language and culture of the Aborigines. To leave the next generation of adult Aborigines in a state of linguistic and cultural homelessness on the fringes of white society is a policy decision of tragic error.

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## CHAPTER 5

### PARTICIPATION WITHOUT THE LOSS OF IDENTITY - A STRATEGY FOR MINORITIES

We have observed in the foregoing discussion that the participation of people of different language, culture and race in Australian life is conditioned by the extent of their competence in the English language and Australian culture. We have also studied the arguments of those who take the view that the gaining of these linguistic and cultural prerequisites is not best achieved by an attempt to obliterate the native language and culture of the person or group concerned. In fact, the necessary skills are most effectively obtained when native language and culture is maintained, along with a distinct identity. The fact that this is a realistic possibility for the many 'ethnic' groups in Australia is shown by the existence of, amongst others, the Chinese-Australians, and the Jewish-Australians. The members of these groups have maintained their own identity, yet, through mastery of the linguistic and cultural prerequisites, achieved a significant form of participation which has been invaluable for not only the members of the groups concerned but for the whole of Australian society.

In 1969, the total number of Chinese permanently settled in Australia was estimated to be<sup>1</sup>

Australian born	9,826
Naturalised	6,551
Aliens registered	4,705
Granted Citizenship by registration	1,907
<hr/>	
TOTAL	22,989
<hr/>	

These figures do not, of course, include the large number of transitory people among the Chinese, in particular the students who do not settle permanently. In fact, much of the restriction upon the immigration of non-European peoples was directed against the Chinese who have been traditionally thought to constitute a threat to Australia.<sup>2</sup> Since 1950 there has been a gradual easing of the restrictions applying to the entry of non-European immigrants to Australia and the granting to them of permanent status and citizenship, so that Australia's Chinese are now increasing in number though still less than one half of one per cent of the total population.

The forms of economic participation by Chinese in Australian society are changing. Originally it was the prospecting for gold in the 1850s and onwards which attracted many of them, but today the profile has greatly spread from that and the other traditional employments such as market gardening.

Some information has been compiled by Christine Inglis<sup>3</sup> from published and unpublished figures.

Occupation of Chinese males in the workforce, 1966<sup>4</sup>

Occupation	% Chinese <sup>a</sup> 1966	% Australian <sup>b</sup> 1966
Professional, technical and related workers. .. ..	17.62	9.28
Administrative, executive and managerial workers .. ..	11.94	6.27
Clerical workers .. ..	6.85	14.69
Sales workers .. ..	8.62	7.73
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, timber getters and related workers .. ..	4.45	9.66
Miners, quarrymen and related workers .. ..	0.13	0.65
Workers in transport and communication occupations .. ..	15.15	6.06
Craftsmen, production-process workers and labourers .. ..	14.47	35.49
Service, sport and recreation workers .. ..	18.60	7.43
Members of armed services .. ..	0.41	1.18
Inadequate description .. ..	1.76	1.56
<hr/>		
TOTAL Number of persons	100.00	100.00
	8762	13421808

a. Unpublished census figures, 1966.

b. Census Bulletin, No. 9.1, 1966.

These figures conceal a number of interesting changes and processes. The Chinese since 1911 have moved out of the agricultural sector and the service section and into the white collar administrative sector. Today Chinese are over-represented in administration,

transport and communications, and under-represented among the blue-collar occupations such as process workers. Among the professional, technical and related occupations, the Chinese are found more often, in proportion to their numbers, than other Australians. Moreover, they are more likely to be self-employed, or employers, than is found to be the case for the rest of the work-force.

To a certain extent this is explicable in terms of preference given by Australia's immigration policies to highly-skilled migrants, but Miss Inglis takes the view that since 1966 the influence of this preferential selection has not probably been great.<sup>5</sup> Some immigrants were restricted by special entry conditions to specific positions such as chef in a Chinese restaurant or market gardener.

But in general, the Chinese have achieved a small but significant penetration into the occupational structure. Has this been related to a satisfying of the linguistic and cultural prerequisites? Christine Inglis has written that

'... the change in the occupational pattern of the Chinese may be accounted for less by new arrivals than by the way Australian-born Chinese have benefited from education in Australia, which ensures their ability to speak English and also gives them qualifications and skills recognized by the host society.' <sup>6</sup>

With regard to political participation, the Chinese-Australians have played a quiet role. On the one hand they are known to favour the Liberal Party.<sup>7</sup> On the other, those who supported the Communist Chinese Government have received the attentions of the Australian Security Organisation, and have realised, notes Huck<sup>8</sup>, that their citizenship was in jeopardy. He noted that community politics is now

distinctly low-key.<sup>9</sup>

Whereas once there was a lively debate in the Chinese vernacular press on the politics of China and the great issue of Empire versus Republic, the Chinese press in Australia has now become defunct. The anti-Chinese feeling which once existed among Australians towards the Chinese immigrants seems to have vanished. In 1965, an Australian-born Chinese, Mr. Harry Chan, was elected President of the Northern Territory Legislative Council and one year later stood successfully for the office of Mayor of Darwin. In 1969, a Melbourne man of Chinese origin, Mr. David Wong, was elected to the Melbourne City Council. In both cases the ethnic background of the candidate appeared to play no part in the campaign or the subsequent result, noted Inglis.<sup>10</sup>

With regard to residence, the Chinese have spread out throughout the cities. Melbourne and Sydney have each a 'Chinatown' but they could in no way be regarded as ghettos. A study in Sydney in 1963 concluded that the Chinese were distributed throughout the urban areas on much the same criteria as Australians of European origin, that is, in terms of occupation, economic status, age and length of residence.<sup>11</sup> The Chinatowns have become a shopping centre and a location for parties and other celebrations. The same survey by Miss Lee Siew-eng, found that 64 per cent of Sydney Chinese opposed intermarriage between Chinese and Australians. Huck estimated that about 69 per cent of the general Australian population opposes similar intermarriage.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, intermarriage is taking place. In Darwin between 1946 and 1966 there were 80 marriages involving Chinese spouses and in 35 of these cases, the other spouse was non-Chinese,<sup>13</sup> while in Melbourne



a similar rate of intermarriage appears to exist.<sup>14</sup>

It would be interesting indeed to know the state of language maintenance among Chinese-Australians. Inglis notes only that some cultural traits are maintained and that 'Such a trait is language'.<sup>15</sup>

This seems rather to underestimate the role of language, especially if the analysis in Part I of this work is valid.

Huck gives no statistics, but he does observe that the Chinese schools have disappeared, while

'Chinese language classes are occasionally conducted in churches and clubs for members who cannot read or write Chinese, but such activities are a very pale substitute for a real Chinese education...' <sup>16</sup>

The Chinese Australians obviously have successfully met the linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation, but they may have done so to the extent that their identity as a distinct group has been weakened.

Another group, the Jewish Australians, have faced the same problem. The history of Jews in Australia has received considerable scholarly attention, in the form of books, articles and academic theses.<sup>17</sup>

At least six Jews arrived on the First Fleet and later, when emancipated, became well-known in the Colony. One of them in fact became Australia's first policeman.<sup>18</sup>

Despite the often-expressed fear by Jews in Australia of assimilation and ultimate loss of identity, they have managed to maintain their identity as a group with distinct language(s), culture,

and faith, while at the same time avoiding conflict and hostility with the surrounding society. This they have done through meeting the linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation and have thus been able to play a significant part in Australian society.

A political scientist, Dr. P.Y. Medding, has discussed the question of how the Jewish Community in Melbourne has managed to maintain its distinct identity in the face of enormous pressure towards assimilation.<sup>19</sup>

But before turning to Medding's discussion of this interesting question, what has been the participation of Jews in Australian society? The two most famous Jewish Australian individuals were almost certainly Sir John Monash, who became commander of the Australian forces in World War I and later head of the State Electricity Commission of Victoria, and in honour of whom Monash University was named, and Sir Isaac Isaacs, who was Justice of the High Court, later Chief Justice, and finally, Governor-General of Australia.

Rather than to concentrate first of all upon forming a statistic picture of participation by Jewish Australians, it may be instructive to look for a moment at the career of John Monash.<sup>20</sup> He was born in 1865 of a German-Jewish couple living in West Melbourne. At primary school John Monash was described as

'... a bright and alert pupil showing special interest in English.'<sup>21</sup>

Monash sustained his interest in learning and to such degree of breadth that he graduated in Arts, Civil Engineering and Law, a combination of disciplines rare in those days and probably even rarer today. In addition, he qualified as a Municipal Surveyor, Engineer of Water Supply,

and Patent Attorney. In 1896 he built one of Australia's first reinforced concrete bridges over the Yarra.

In 1884 Monash began his interest in military matters when he joined the University Company of the 4th Battalion, Victorian Rifles. During World War I he became commander of the 4th Infantry Brigade of the A.I.F. In 1916 he was given command of the 3rd Australian Division and promoted to major-general and in 1918, after some highly successful operations, he became Commander of the Australian Army Corps. Monash developed a special technique of tank-supported infantry attack, which was used to great effect in the taking of the village of Hamel and then adopted for use over many parts of the Western Front, and which played a part in his receiving a knighthood which was conferred upon him in the field by King George V.

During the War, Britain's Prime Minister Lloyd George wrote of him

'Monash was, according to the testimony of those who knew well his genius for war and what he accomplished by it, the most resourceful general in the whole of the British Army.' 22

At the end of hostilities, Monash became Australia's Director-General of Repatriation and Demobilization with headquarters in London. There, he instituted a programme of study for those men awaiting transport.

'No subject was excluded, the scope extended from archaeology to agriculture, engineering to dentistry, tailoring to brewing, music to bricklaying. The system was phenomenally successful ...' 23

In 1920 Monash was appointed general manager of the State Electricity Commission of Victoria, and became Chairman in 1921 and

proceeded to develop the imaginative solution to the power needs by building a giant power house at the site of the brown coal deposit and sending the power by transmission line to Melbourne over 200 km away, for those days a highly imaginative solution to an engineering problem, thus advancing the culture in this area.

It is hard to estimate the effect of such rare and gifted individuals upon the community from which they came. Medding takes the view that apart from such 'individual Jews' as Isaacs and Monash, the Jewish community 'played no role in Australian society and had little impact on public consciousness'.<sup>24</sup> Leaving aside this question for the moment, what is the status of participation by Jews in the wider Australian society today?

In 1967 the number of people in Australia of Jewish origin was estimated to be over 65,000 and probably over half of these lived in Melbourne.<sup>25</sup>

Their occupation participation was shown in 1947, in comparison with the members of other faiths, to be as follows:

OCCUPATIONAL ORDER - AUSTRALIA 1947<sup>26</sup>

	Jews	Cathol- ics	C of E	Metho- dists	Presby- terians	Luther- ans	Total
Rural, Fishing & Hunting	1.6	17.4	16.5	21.6	22.0	56.6	17.9
Professional & Semi-Professional	9.4	3.3	2.9	3.3	4.3	2.4	3.3
Administrative	28.3	4.3	5.9	5.2	6.6	3.0	5.6
Commercial and Clerical	25.2	16.6	16.6	17.1	18.8	5.4	16.5
Domestic & Pro- tective Services	2.6	7.2	6.3	5.0	5.3	3.2	6.2

	Jews	Cathol- ics.	C of E	Metho- dists	Presby- terians	Luther- ans	Total
Craftsmen	16.5	17.2	20.7	20.8	20.1	11.0	20.1
Operatives	13.3	22.0	21.4	19.4	16.2	11.3	20.7
Labourers	0.8	8.1	6.4	5.0	4.2	5.2	6.4
Not stated	2.3	3.9	3.3	2.6	2.5	1.9	3.3
EMPLOYED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NUMBER EMPLOYED	11727	491193	980892	278015	244826	22845	2479269
% NOT GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	28.6	36.5	33.7	34.7	33.3	34.4	34.7
TOTAL	16426	774122	1480527	425745	366892	34854	3797370

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS - AUSTRALIA 1947

Employers	35.4	6.7	8.0	8.9	9.9	10.8	8.2
Self Employed	18.7	13.2	13.3	16.7	16.4	36.8	14.3
Employees	45.6	79.1	77.9	73.1	72.4	47.1	76.4
Voluntary Workers	0.3	1.0	0.8	1.3	1.3	5.3	1.0
TOTAL AT WORK	11278	471589	945978	270554	237883	22303	2390881

From Census of the Commonwealth 1947.

Price, Jewish Settlers in Australia, Appendix Vb

Although the information in this Table may have changed during the subsequent decades, it is unlikely that certain structural features would have changed greatly. The outstanding features are: firstly, the comparative rarity of Jewish rural workers and labourers, secondly, the high degree of concentration (over-representation) in all

of the professional, administrative and commercial occupations and lastly, the extremely high percentage of Jews who are employers.

With regard to their occupations, Medding makes the point that for census purposes, many Jews who run private companies were listed as employees despite the fact that they might own and control a company. In 1961 Medding carried out a survey of his own, designed to overcome this problem and found the following distribution:

<u>Employment of Jews, 1961</u> <sup>27</sup>	
Employers	51.2%
Self-Employed	24.0%
Employees	18.4%
Other	6.4%
	<hr/>
	100.0%
	<hr/>

Medding's explanation of the occupational distribution of Jews in Australia is part cultural and part economic. Taking the latter first, he remarks upon Kuznets'<sup>28</sup> explanation of, in the U.S. context, the lack of Jewish participation in agriculture, minor participation in transport and communications, and concentration in trade, finance, industry, the professions, as a function of the cohesion, distinctiveness and small size of the group, which has caused a concentration in certain occupations rather than to face a dispersal. The cultural approach emphasises the strength of middle class values among Jews such as the desire for rapid upward social mobility and the religious origin of a particular cluster of values such as 'individual responsibility and also non-asceticism, rationality, empiricism, literacy, education and intellectual pursuits, cleanliness, sobriety and family

purity'.<sup>29</sup> The two sets of factors, economic and cultural, when combined with tradition, history and psychology, have reproduced in Australia the same structure of occupation.

In the education system Jews are over-represented. On the occasions when questions relating education to religion were included in the Census, it became clear that a higher proportion of Jews undertook higher education than that of other religions.

University Education and Religion<sup>30</sup>

	<u>Percentage of all Jews</u>	<u>Percentage of all Other Religions.</u>
1921	3.74	0.71
1933	4.26	0.73

In addition to this information, Medding has obtained separate information concerning the number of Jews graduating from Melbourne University between 1940 and 1959 on the admittedly uncertain test of 'identifiable Jewish names'. On this basis he found that Jews constituted 5.05 per cent of all graduates, and of these, 10.5 per cent of all Law graduates, 9.3 per cent of all Medicine graduates and 4.8 per cent, mostly female, of Arts graduates.<sup>31</sup>

With regard to political participation, there is no question that the vast majority of Jews in Australia are able to identify with one of the established political parties. All of the parties under Australia's voting system are required by the exigencies of obtaining power to develop a universalist appeal. Younger Jews born in Australia, Eastern Europe, or Germany and Austria tend to identify with the A.L.P.

while those born in Hungary or Czechoslovakia tend to identify with the Liberal and Country Parties, or the D.L.P.<sup>32</sup> Fears and resentment by Jews from Eastern Europe towards Communism are balanced against the threat of anti-semitism towards which 'the right' are believed to incline. Medding makes the same point as that made by Davies in his discussion of migrant politics: that migrants act politically according to their earlier experience.

When Jews enter politics as representatives, they do so as individuals, rather than representatives of groups, as indeed, the Chinese and all those others of non-British origin have done, with the possible exception of those of Irish origin. On issues affecting Jews as a group there are some well developed and highly effective organisations. Dr. Medding has studied the workings of one of these, the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies, which regards itself, and is widely accepted as, the official spokesman of the Victorian Jewish community. Issues which have concerned it are Israel, the persecution of Jews in other countries, Jewish migration to Australia, and the general area of religious freedom. In general, the V.J.B.D. has avoided taking an official stand on issues not of direct relevance to the Jewish community, either through insecurity and fear of arousing anti-semitism, or through lack of decision on its own part, as for example in the State Aid controversy.

Yet within its sphere of operations, this and other organs of the Jewish community have been a very effective political force.

'Australian Jewry', writes Medding, 'was instrumental in achieving favourable Commonwealth action with regard to the establishment of the State of Israel, the



problem of Soviet anti-semitism, and the plight of Jewish refugees and D.Ps, before and after the Second World War.' 33

What has been the technique employed in this successful role of political action?

'Methods of approach', continues Medding, 'on such matters include direct representations to Ministers and Departments, and contact with parliamentarians, political parties, churches, trade unions and the media of communication.' 34

In addition to a mastery of public relations techniques, the Jewish community has members possessing high status in the surrounding community. In his survey of Melbourne Jews, Dr. Medding asked his subjects to name the three most important Jews in Melbourne and give reasons. One-third of the respondents stressed the position of 'ambassador to the non-Jews'. The most frequently mentioned individuals were, in order: 35

Mr. M.J. Ashkanasy, Q.C.  
 Rabbi Dr. H. Sanger  
 Rabbi J. Danglow, O.B.E.  
 Rabbi H.J. Gutnick  
 Judge T. Rapke  
 Professor Z. Cowen  
 Mr. S. Wynn  
 Mr. N. Jacobson  
 Mr. B. Snider, M.L.A.  
 Mr. A. Feiglin  
 Mr. L. Fink

Some of the reasons given are interesting:

'Rabbi Sanger - mixes with Jews and English.  
 Rabbi Danglow - mixes with both, a head for Jewish people that we couldn't be ashamed of - he can talk intelligently with them and they won't look down on him.  
 Judge Rapke - prominent position, good for Jewish people.  
 Rabbi H.J. Gutnick - liaison via TV Epilogue;

Judge Rapke - good ambassador between Jew and non-Jew.

Mr. M.J. Ashkanasy, Q.C. - born here, can approach all English people, personality, well known, meets with outsiders.

Mr. B. Snider, M.L.A. - mixes with top people, can protect the Jewish community.

Professor Z. Cowen - active, makes Jewish people known and liked; a symbol.' 36

If we condense these reasons, they are in essence, skill in communication, ability to articulate a position and defend it ('protect the Jewish community'), facility in social intercourse ('mixes with Jews and English', 'can approach all English people') and possession of knowledge ('can talk intelligently'). In fact, all of these reasons given can be summarized as a complete mastery of the linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation in the wider society and at all levels of influence.

We are not informed of the state of knowledge of the Hebrew language among Australian Jews. Medding states a view of the relationship between the language and culture of Jews which is in support of Sapir-Whorf and the position we have taken in this work.

'Nationhood or peoplehood go hand in hand with the cultural aspects of Jewishness, based upon the common languages of Hebrew and Yiddish and the rich literary cultures which grew up around them, giving expression to, and reinforcing many of the common customs, traditions, patterns of behaviour and ideas which united Jewry.' 37

The Jewish schools in Melbourne - in 1968 there were seven catering for some 2,700 children - teach the language and literature of Hebrew and Yiddish. We can only guess at the extent of desire felt on the part of Jewish parents for their children to learn Hebrew and Yiddish. Medding has written that,

'The universal strengthening of Jewish consciousness resulting from the Nazi holocaust and the establishment of Israel, in particular, has renewed Hebrew as a living language and provided additional incentive to teach it to children.' 38

This explanation throws some light on the wider question of why a distinct Jewish identity has been maintained, despite the obvious skill and success with which Jews have participated in Australian society. We have noted already that many other persons in Australian society whose parents or grandparents brought to Australia a distinct language and culture have lost all trace of that language and culture.

Some forty years ago it was commonly assumed, for example, that Melbourne's Jewish community would lose its identity and become absorbed within the general Australian community. Yet this has not happened. Medding postulates<sup>39</sup> three sets of group-strengthening pressures at work in maintaining the identity of the Australian Jewish community. Firstly, there is the desire to preserve and perpetuate a religious and cultural heritage. Secondly, the existence in the surrounding community of prejudice and discrimination against the minority. Thirdly, the feeling of belonging and social solidarity deriving from group membership which protects people from anomie or loss of identity in the atomized modern society.

Against these pressures are exerted group-weakening pressures, arising from economic integration, education, recreation and inter-marriage. In addition to the group-strengthening and group-weakening forces between which the Jewish community continues to exist, there are also changes in Australian society which is, Medding notes, moving

in the direction of 'cultural pluralism', to use Gordon's term. With the exception of the Greeks, Medding believes that all other immigrants will become 'non-hyphenated Australians'.<sup>40</sup> Jews will maintain their identity, due to the power of their unique religion as a group-factor not present in the case of many other 'ethnic groups' and also because, in Melbourne, approximately half the Jewish children will be educated in Jewish day schools, which

'... is perhaps the most important single determinant of the community's future development.' <sup>41</sup>

Like any other person who is born with a different mother-tongue, culture, religion or race, to that of the majority of the members of his society, the Jew in Australia is subjected to pressures and conflicts which Medding has identified. The solution which Medding proposes to this problem with regard to education is the same one as that which seems to emerge clearly as one that we would wish to see made possible for all members of all minority groups, and in all respects.

'The Australian Jew of the future has the possibility of synthesizing the two; of receiving a sound Jewish education, together with a high secular education. It may well be that the future will not witness high Jewish identification and educational achievements as alternatives but as concomitants ...'<sup>42</sup>

It could be argued, at this point, that Chinese and Jews have been able to achieve this kind of competence in the prerequisites for participation because of superior intelligence and that this will never be available to Aborigines. This objection drives our argument back to the position discussed in Chapter 2, where we found that although some psychologists view intelligence as an innate quality there is

evidence supporting the majority view that it is not. As evidence of this we recall the research finding that Aboriginal intelligence increases with European contact, thus indicating that intelligence is a cultural product and therefore one that can be imparted, which is the view we are led to accept in this work.

A different objection is that of Professor Ali Mazrui that participation and identity are incompatible to some extent at least.

'My own feeling is that the Aborigines are faced with a choice between cultural autonomy and economic justice - and they cannot have both in full measure.' <sup>43</sup>

In the sense of full cultural autonomy, Professor Mazrui's view is correct because participation in Australian society and participation in Aboriginal society are incompatible. But, if the Aboriginal people were given the prerequisites for participation surely that would not be incompatible with maintaining a distinct Aboriginal identity, with pride in the language and culture of the race, as opposed to cultural autonomy? Furthermore, it could be that Mazrui has overestimated the risk of the condition which he has in another article called cultural schizophrenia.<sup>44</sup> Of this concept he wrote,

'We define this term as the tense ambivalence which arises out of the interplay between dependency and aggression in the process of acculturation. Attitudes toward the conquering culture produce a confusion among the recipients between fascination and repulsion, and emulation and defiance.' <sup>45</sup>

It is moreover, interesting to note that with regard to the process of acculturation, Professor Mazrui writes that

'... in this a process of social learning similar to that of adult socialization in which linguistic communication plays an essential role.' <sup>46</sup>

Although these comments were not written with reference to the Australian Aborigines, it is manifestly apparent that Professor Mazrui's concept of cultural schizophrenia and the identity from which it springs, are relevant. He sees aggression among blacks in North America as being due to anomie, or loss of identity, following upon their rejection of dependency upon Western cultural models, a dependency which may be manifested as 'Uncle Tomism'. While the concept is relevant to Aborigines, and indeed to migrants, though the racial dimension is not present, we must at the same time recognize a significant difference between the position of Aborigines in Australia and Negroes in America and in Africa. This difference is that the Aborigine has never been a slave, as Australia was settled some years too late, as Mazrui has remarked, for African slaves to have been brought here and it was by then that England had entered into the mood of abolitionism.<sup>47</sup> The history of the white man's treatment of Aborigines is characterized by neglect rather than exploitation. But this is not to deny the existence of a very real problem of identity among Aborigines.

Psychological problems undoubtedly do arise from a duality of cultural, linguistic or racial problems but they are not insoluble, and it seems that a secure sense of ethnic identity is the solution to this problem.

Turning to another writer, we find that in an article entitled 'Immigration and Culture Conflict',<sup>48</sup> Professor Zubrzycki discusses this problem and sees bilingualism and biculturalism as the answer to them. He writes

'Ability to speak the language is an essential condition of the migrant's participation in the social, economic and political institutions of the receiving community ...' 49

In addition,

'... no obstacles should be placed in the way of migrant children who learn to speak the language or attend courses on the civilization of the country from which their parents have emigrated', ... while ... 'encouraging formation of such (national) cultural groups ... will give the migrant a necessary degree of security.'

Another writer, Marshall Sklare, takes the same view in support of our proposition when he observes that

'... participation in an ethnically-typed structure can continue to give people a sense of belongingness and thereby remains an important means of reducing anomie ...' 51

Does bilingualism and biculturalism lead to psychological problems? Writing in Psychiatry, Vita S. Sommers has described her treatment of 'cultural-hybrid or multiethnic' patients at the Los Angeles Veterans Mental Hygiene Clinic. Her patients suffered illnesses stemming from loss or lack of identity, attributable to their dual-membership of cultures. But lack of identity is a problem not confined to persons of dual culture, in fact Dr. Sommers is led to the view that

'Problems of identity constitute the most serious and distinctive psychological disorder of our time...' 52

Almost all of her patients wanted to be something they were not, they wanted to be 'sociologically white', that is, white Anglo-Americans. Most of their problems arose from their attempt to shed their old unacceptable identities.

One of her cases was Rodrigo,<sup>53</sup> a young Mexican-American, who was suffering from severe asthma and dermatitis in addition to his loathing of himself. He regarded the people of the Chicago slum where he grew up as 'crude, dirty, illiterate Mexicans', and he rejected the idea of becoming another 'dumb Mexican kid'. (In this connection the use of the term dumb, widespread in popular use where it means stupid or unintelligent, must be noted for its connotation of 'lack of linguistic prerequisites'). Rodrigo did well in the Army, where he always tried to excel over his fellow soldiers, as 'bullets do not discriminate between race and colour'. At a later date, in civilian life, he tried to emulate the 'All-American boy'. He moved to an 'Anglo' neighbourhood, became violently anti-Catholic and, most significantly, gave up speaking Spanish. He did in fact try to resolve his conflict by murdering the past, yet his skin trouble remained with him.

Viewed symbolically, it seemed to the psychiatrist as though Rodrigo was trying to scratch away his skin, that ever-present reminder which stigmatized him as a 'dirty Mexican' a 'second-class citizen'.<sup>54</sup>

The answer to his problem came through a recognition within him, which the psychiatrist was able to awaken, of the fundamental virtue of his parents whom he had despised and through them his culture. On the basis of this more realistic appraisal of his past and therefore a better relationship with it, he now has a goal.

'His goal is now clear - to extricate his downtrodden people from misery and to raise their culture.'<sup>55</sup>

A second case of identity problem was that of Keith Parker,



a college French teacher, who was suffering from insomnia, severe depression and ulcers. Keith's parents were Jewish immigrants from Russia who spoke only Yiddish. Keith rejected his past and attempted to find a new self-image quite distinct from that of his illiterate Yiddish-speaking father and Jewish cultural environment, a struggle which was reflected in his choice of a new, Anglo-Saxon name. Even his occupation reflected his struggle for, as Sommers points out, Erikson has emphasised that a new language may offer the opportunity to establish a new self-image.<sup>56</sup>

'His change of language may have been another way of denying and controlling these hostile feelings ...' (towards his past),  
wrote Sommers.

It was only when he was able to re-establish his former identity, as Irving Koppel, that the patient was able to feel a sense of involvement in life and in his marriage that had been previously lacking.

The third case discussed by Dr. Sommers is that of Pablo, a man in whom not only two languages and cultures are mixed but also two conflicting and antagonistic races. Pablo, half Negro and half Puerto Rican, was illegitimate since Southern States laws prohibited miscengenation, and he had sought help for his problems of insomnia, alcoholism, attempted suicide and desire to kill his wife. His problem was diagnosed as an identity crisis. Erikson has stated that,

'Deprivation of identity, not frustration,  
leads to murder.' <sup>57</sup>

Pablo lived a dual life as a member of two cultures, two races, speaker of two languages and carrier of two names. His light colour of skin enabled him to pass as a Mexican-American, while his knowledge of

Spanish made doubly sure that he was not taken for a Negro while, at the same time, he was not a true 'chicano' or Mexican. Dr. Sommers saw his problem in these terms,

'Indeed, this man's life resembled a drama involving two main characters. Pablo suffered from the affliction of not knowing who he was. He saw himself as a 'phony', an 'imposter', and an 'ugly and despicable' person, who felt compelled to hide the truth about himself. Hence, self-hatred,'<sup>58</sup>

A fourth case was that of Ichiro, whose parents were Japanese, and who had suffered a breakdown. Prior to World War II, he had identified wholly with American ideals and values but, during the war, he had come to view himself as rejected by American society. Having rejected his parents and their language and culture he thus found himself in a state of suspension as it were between two worlds. It was only when his psychiatrist was able to awaken an interest within him in his Japanese background that his problems seemed to lift.

'Feeling more secure in his own status, Ichiro can now afford to relinquish his over-idealized distortion of the American culture and to take a more tolerant view of his foreign parentage and reconcile some conflicting aspects of his dual cultural background.'<sup>59</sup>

There are a number of observations that we may make on the basis of these cases as presented by Sommers. One is that the physical diseases were cultural in origin. They were treated not with drugs, shocks or surgery, but by cultural means, specifically, assistance through intellectual means in resolving the conflicts of dual identity.

Secondly, in all four of the cases, there was the dimension

of race. No matter how hard the patients had tried to assimilate to the white Anglo-Saxon ideal, their racial origins remained apparent and no amount of assimilation could overcome this factor. The non-Anglo-Saxon racial origin was a guilty secret which the men tried unsuccessfully to conceal. Assimilation was an impossible ideal, but it was also an unnecessary one, (and this is our third observation) that to try to make society more tolerant of its minorities is a fairly impracticable exercise. It is a more effective strategy to encourage individual members of racial, linguistic and cultural minorities to have pride in their past, their origins and indeed, in themselves.

'... they can now enjoy a new-found sense of belonging - a belonging with their own family and their ancestral parental heritage as well as belonging to the country and the culture of their birth.' 60

The question of family is extremely important. Where the family is strong, individuals rarely suffer neurotic disorders

'... the cultural or ethnic conflict is neither the sole cause nor the basic determiner of identity disorders ...'

But when an individual has been insecure in his early family life and there is a cultural duality present, identity problems can become very deeply entrenched. It is then a task for psychiatrists to establish for them a secure sense of their own value and uniqueness as possessors of dual cultural membership and this is their defence against hostility.

It may be argued that Australian society is less intense in its pressures towards conformity than some others, and therefore there is less need for this kind of treatment. We may accept, however,

that this response to the pressures that individuals feel towards assimilation to a white Anglo-Saxon ideal is nonetheless valid also for Australia, and so we may conclude that unsuccessful bilingualism and biculturalism can add to the problems of an insecure person, while effective bilingualism and biculturalism is the solution to these problems, and it only becomes effective when the linguistic and cultural prerequisites of participation are fulfilled in a meaningful way.

FOOTNOTES

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2. See A.T. Yarwood, Asian Migration to Australia, The Background to Exclusion, 1896-1923, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1964).
3. Christine Inglis, 'Chinese in Australia', International Migration Review, vol. 6, No. 4, 1972, reprinted in Donald E. Edgar (ed.), Social Change in Australia: Readings in Sociology, (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1974), pp. 154-167.
4. Source: Ibid., p. 157.
5. Ibid., p. 157.
6. Ibid., p. 157.
7. See Davies, op.cit.
8. Huck, op.cit. p. 9.
9. Ibid., p. 9.
10. Inglis, op.cit., p. 162.
11. Siew Eng Lee, 'The Ecology of the Sydney Chinese', Unpublished B.A. thesis, Department of Geography, University of Sydney, 1963; see Inglis, op.cit. p. 159.
12. Huck, op.cit., p. 11.
13. Inglis, op.cit., p. 161.
14. V.Y. Choi, 'Patterns of Migration and Marriage among the Chinese in Australia', Australian Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 7, 1972, pp. 141-150; See Inglis, op.cit., p. 161.

15. Inglis, op.cit., n.p. 165. In a personal discussion, Dr. K.S. Liew, of the History Department, University of Tasmania, described language maintenance among Tasmanian Chinese as 'poor'.
16. Huck, op.cit., p. 7.
17. See for example, Charles A. Price, assisted by Lilian Wilson and Elizabeth Tyler, Jewish Settlers in Australia, (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1964).
18. See Ibid., p. 8; also, G.F.J. Bergman, 'John Harris, the First Australian Policeman', Journal and Proceedings of the Australian Jewish Historical Society, Vol, V, (1959), pp. 49-50.
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20. John Hetherington, Great Australians, John Monash, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1962).
21. Ibid., p. 1.
22. Quoted by Hetherington, op.cit., p. 24.
23. Ibid., p. 26.
24. Medding, op.cit., p.2.
25. Ibid., p. 19.
26. Price, op.cit., Appendix Vb.
27. Medding, op.cit., p. 21.
28. See Medding, op.cit., p. 23, in reference to S. Kuznets, 'The Economic Structure and Life of the Jews', in L. Finkelstein, (ed.), The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion, (London: 3rd ed., 1961), pp. 1597-1622.
29. Medding, op.cit., p. 24.

30. From Medding, op.cit., p. 21.
31. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
32. Ibid., p. 241.
33. Ibid., pp. 55-56.
34. Ibid., p. 56.
35. Ibid., p. 179.
36. Ibid., p. 178.
37. Ibid., p. 13.
38. Ibid., p. 104.
39. See Medding, op.cit., ch. 1.
40. Ibid., p. 15.
41. Ibid., p. 277.
42. Ibid., p. 277.
43. Ali Mazrui, A.B.C. Guest of Honour, Broadcast 2FC, June 4, 1972, (Transcript supplied by A.B.C.), p. 4.
44. Ali A. Mazrui, 'Racial Self-Reliance and Cultural Dependency: Nyerere and Amin in Comparative Perspective', Journal of International Affairs, op.cit.
45. Ibid., p. 106.
46. Ibid., p. 106. (Emphasis mine). See also Ali A. Mazrui, 'Educational Techniques and Problems of Identity in Plural Societies', International Social Science Journal, 24, No. 1, (1972), pp. 149-65.
47. Mazrui, 'Guest of Honour', op.cit., p. 1.

48. R.E.M.P. Bulletin, Vol. 5, (1957), pp. 71-77.
49. Ibid., p. 76.
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51. Marshall Sklare, Conservative Judaism, An American Religious Movement, (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), p. 251.
52. Vita S. Sommers, 'The Impact of Dual Cultural Membership on Identity', Psychiatry, Vol. 27, 1964, (November 1964), pp. 332-344.
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54. Ibid., p. 334.
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P A R T    I I I    :

POLICY

IMPLICATIONS

## CHAPTER 1

### THE IMPLICATION FOR IMMIGRATION,

### ASSIMILATION AND EDUCATION

### POLICIES, AND CONCLUSION.

On the basis of the examination in Part II of the propositions made in Part I, it is now clear that an overwhelming weight of evidence is available indicating that language, culture and society are profoundly interrelated. It is simply not possible to consider the workings of society without reference to the role of language and culture. Although we have thought it advisable not to try to specify the exact nature of the cultures of the Aborigines, or of the migrants, there can be no question that their cultures significantly influence the roles they play in Australian society. We have seen also that culture is related to language, so that the cultures of these people are contained in their languages. We saw also in Part I that in addition to its role as a 'transparent medium of communication', language fulfils many other functions in social life when looked at from the point of view of the individual and also the point of view of society as a whole. When knowledge of the given language of society is not possessed by all of the members of the society, then we can predict that these other functions will not be fulfilled. Many of these functions may conveniently be subsumed under the general concept of participation, so that we may presuppose that the participations of those persons not in possession of this prerequisite

language competence will be depressed. Our analysis in Part II showed an abundance of evidence that this is so in Australian society, and will remain so for many years to come.

In this way we have been able to conclude that there are linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation in Australian society; that there are groups of people who do possess these prerequisites, and that their children will probably not possess them either. However, to cease our work at this point without extracting fully the implications for public policy in Australia would be unfortunate.

#### IMMIGRATION POLICY

With the exception of its Aborigines, Australia is a nation made up of recent immigrants, that is, ones of no more than six generations or perhaps seven at the very most.<sup>1</sup> Prior to Federation, the colonies grew spasmodically through the transportation of convicts and the emigration of some free settlers, mainly from Britain. Much of the impetus to establish colonies under the British Crown came from the fear of the French who were displaying an increasing interest in these parts, in the form of the presence of La Perouse, Bougainville and d'Entrecasteaux.<sup>2</sup>

Until the gold rushes which got under way in the 1860s, the Australian colonies were almost entirely British in their populations. Thousands of non-Britishers began arriving in search of gold. However, the colonial administrations strongly favoured British immigration. Prior to Federation each colony had its own assisted passage scheme

to bring immigrants in an attempt to meet the demands for labour in the farms and early industries. The various colonial (and then State) schemes brought out over 40 per cent of the 1.3 million immigrants who came to Australia from Britain between 1860 and 1919, while practically all of those who made up the 1.3 million immigrants were of British stock.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Appleyard has likened Australia's immigration policy up to 1945 to the habit of the boa-constrictor which gulps down its victim and then lies off for a considerable period of digestion. After the first influx of settlers in the 1830s there was a lull until the gold rushes of the 1860s, followed by a period of rest until the Empire Settlement Scheme was brought into being in the 1920s. Since 1945 there has been a sustained influx of immigrants at an unprecedented level, which has seen the arrival of over two and a half million new settlers. Without doubt, Australia's post-war immigration influx must rank as one of the greatest ever known.

The cost of bringing these immigrants and settling them will never be known precisely, but very few of the individual settlers could afford the fares involved in transporting them over such a distance, while the charitable organisations in Britain preferred to send people to North America, where so many more could be sent for the same cost. Another element in the cost to the Colonies (and then States) was the fact that it was not until after the First World War that the British government became a full contributor to the various schemes for assisted passages and land settlement; prior to that time the British government had assisted no more than forty-two men

in their passage to Australia.<sup>4</sup>

In 1919 the Dominions Royal Commission of the United Kingdom recommended that the Empire should work as one self-sufficient economic unit, in which the outlying dominions would supply raw materials, while Britain, the industrialized nation, would transform these into finished products and provide capital for the colonies and the Commonwealth. An important part of this plan was the distribution of population. It was recognized that Britain was over-crowded and that the dominions needed population, and so the British government became interested in sending immigrants to Australia, and in providing financial assistance. Between 1921 and 1933 over 204,000 British immigrants were brought to Australia under this scheme before the world Depression brought it and the Empire Settlement Scheme to a standstill.

During the War, the threat of Japanese invasion drove home a sense of the vulnerability of such a small population as Australia possessed in relation to the size of Australia's territory. Moreover, since 1870 the birth-rate had been declining and in 1930 it was actually below the level necessary for self-replacement of Australia's existing population. The members of the Australian war-time cabinet agreed that a massive immigration programme to be commenced at the end of the war was imperative.

'History will one day reveal how close Australia was to being overrun. Divine Providence was on our side. We may not be given another chance. We must be realistic in regard to the necessity for a scientific migration policy', said the Hon. F.M. Forde, Minister for the Army, in 1944. 5

This policy imperative had virtually unanimous support throughout the nation: the Opposition in Parliament, the employers' association, the trade unions, churches, all State governments and the general public supported the idea of a large scale programme of immigration to Australia.

In addition to the defense argument, there was the demographic argument. In 1944 the National Health and Medical Research Council had warned that on current trends, the natural increase would diminish so rapidly after 1950 that by 1980 the total of deaths would exceed that of births. In their Report the Council wrote:

'In about twenty years the population will reach 8,000,000, remain temporarily stationary, and then decline ...' <sup>6</sup>

Obviously, it was a question, in terms of defence as well as demography, of 'Populate or Perish', as the popular slogan had put it.

Thus it came about that at the end of World War II, Australia, alone of all the dominion governments, was negotiating with the British government for a new assisted passage scheme.

The first Minister in the new portfolio of Immigration was Arthur Calwell, and it was he who decided the ethnic composition of the annual intake of immigrants, though within the constraints that only members of one race, the European or Caucasian, could be introduced.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century the question of Asian immigration<sup>7</sup> had been discussed furiously and with many catchcries such as 'Yellow Peril' throughout the colonies, and a patchwork of legislation had been passed which restricted, with varying degrees of effectiveness, the entry of Chinese and other Asian races into

Australia. In the first session of the new Federal Parliament, an Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 was passed, which determined the issue of Asian immigration. The act provided an 'education test' which was the device by which non-European immigrants were excluded. This, and its colonial forerunners, is the policy which became known as the 'White Australia Policy'.

Within the parameter that all migration was to be European, Mr. Calwell, then Minister for Immigration, established ethnic priorities. With regard to absolute numbers, he believed that the 'maximum effective population absorption capacity' could be no more than 2 per cent of the existing population each year, so that the nation with its population at that time of seven million, could be capable of absorbing another 140,000 persons each year from both natural increase and immigration. As the natural increase was about 70,000 per year, this left a target figure of 70,000 migrants per year. Among these immigrants British were to be given the higher preference and, moreover,

'... for every foreign migrant there will  
be ten people from the United Kingdom.' 8

Professor Appleyard reports that when Calwell went to Britain with his target figure of 70,000 he was told that the chances of achieving this figure were remote as Britain needed labour for reconstruction at home and because shipping was short, and that he could expect no more than 20,000 to 30,000. But while he was there, he enquired about the situation of about one million displaced persons languishing in camps in Europe. During the war, some five million people had been displaced from their homelands and, in addition to them, approximately one million more had become displaced, mostly

Poles and Czechs, who had fled from their countries as they had begun to fall under Soviet domination. Of the six million displaced persons, many had returned to their homelands, whilst others had found new places of settlement so that when Calwell heard of them there were just one million left in the camps. When he saw these displaced people in Europeans camps, Calwell was hopeful of a solution to his problem, but uncertain of reaction at home he decided to send some trial shipments. When these first displaced persons arrived, there was, notes Appleyard, little or no hostility on the part of the Australian public. In fact his officers had been told to carefully select those who were of good character, and of fair complexion. So successful were the trial shipments that in four years no less than 170,000 of these refugee people, often with shattered and tragic lives, arrived in Australia.

'This was a milestone in Australia's immigration history. It broke the long tradition that only British migrants would be assisted to come to this country.'<sup>9</sup>

Soon the supply of displaced persons was exhausted and the government accepted a new principle, that at least 50 per cent of all immigrants could come from outside Britain and migration agreements were concluded with Germany, the Netherlands and Austria, and over the years since then, with virtually every country in Western Europe. In the 1950s there was some feeling against Italians and Greeks, whose numbers were for a while cut back, but broadly the balance between British and non-British has been maintained, and little opposition has been displayed. By 1966 the number of non-Australian born persons resident in Australia was over two million but only



40 per cent of these had been born in the United Kingdom, and the target of a one per cent annual population increase has been met, though not always without difficulty.

In the 1960s the 'population for defence' argument was heard less, and the justification for the annual immigration intake swung to one of developing and sustaining a high standard of living through the development of secondary industry. At the same time it became clear that relations with Australia's Asian neighbours were being damaged by the existence of the White Australia Policy. As a result the government relaxed its policy of restricted immigration and began granting permanent resident status to people of non-European origin, of whom there have been some 10,000 carefully selected and generally well qualified. Today it is probably true to say that any highly skilled or professional person of any race who can speak English (i.e. possess linguistic and cultural prerequisites) and who has a job to come to, can be granted permanent settlement in Australia. That is not to say that the general aim of racial homogeneity has been removed; it still exists as government policy and as the state of thinking among the general public and also, more vociferously, among the trade union movement, as has been shown by the government proposal in 1974 to bring Filipino workers for the Sydney car-building industry. While the highly trained non-Europeans have been able to enter Australia on a permanent basis, the needs of industry for skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour have continued to remain unsatisfied. As the Western European nations entered into their own economic booms and thus dried up as a source of labour, Australia has been forced to look further south and east from its traditional sources and has

taken people from Yugoslavia, Turkey, Egypt, Syria and Mauritius and had their governments been willing to enter the necessary agreements, people from the nations of South America.

The cost of bringing and accommodating these two and a half million settlers has been enormous but so also have been the benefits flowing from this investment in human capital, though some economists and others would question this.<sup>10</sup> Certainly that which has been called the 'social overhead capital' - the schools, hospitals and public services - have been strained to breaking point, the balance of payments has suffered and industry has faced a chronic shortage of development funds, yet the nation has benefited through vast economic expansion, so that Professor Appleyard can conclude while speaking of the immigrants, that

'No one can deny that their contribution to economic growth, like the cost of their settlement, has been enormous.'<sup>11</sup>

Thus Australia's post-war immigration policy has slowly but effectively swung from one based on racial criteria to one based on the linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation. Purely economic considerations of labour of the cheapest kind have been avoided. So also has the concept of the 'guest worker' been rejected.<sup>12</sup> By ensuring that non-European immigrants possess the linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation, problems of racial prejudice against migrants have been almost certainly minimized. One group, the Indians, have achieved a very high level of penetration into the occupational structure, and in social interaction with people at these occupation levels, there is little room for prejudice to play a role.

## ASSIMILATION POLICY

### 'Assimilation' as a Policy Aim

We have remarked upon the fact that assimilation has been a persistent ideal of governments and the general public for the future of immigrants and indigenes. It has, moreover, received a considerable amount of the attention of social scientists, who have been interested to determine the nature of the assimilation process.<sup>13</sup> The work on assimilation carried out in the Psychology Department of the University of Western Australia has been published in a summarised form by Ronald Taft in his book From Stranger to Citizen.<sup>14</sup> For the purpose of those studies, assimilation was defined as

'... the process whereby the immigrants and the native population become more alike as a result of interaction.'<sup>15</sup>

This assimilation process was studied among actual immigrant groups in regard to certain selected variables, while the Australian society was also studied, similarly in statistically significant samples. It does not serve our present purposes to study the techniques used by Professor Taft and his collaborators in reaching their conclusions, but rather it is the conclusions themselves and the implications which flow from them which are of interest to us.

Our hypothesis, it will be recalled, was that participation rather than assimilation is the defining characteristic of a democratic form of social organisation, and participation implies that certain linguistic and cultural prerequisites will be met. The Western Australian studies of assimilation do throw some light on this

hypothesis.

'... We have established the importance of social participation with Australians in the assimilation of immigrants...' 16

But what are the prerequisites of participation?

'Some consistent differences were found in values between Australians and European immigrants, taken as single groups, but in most cases these differences would not constitute, at least partial, assimilation. The English language however, does constitute a more serious difficulty for the assimilation of some immigrants, and it is a special problem for those aspiring to higher level occupations for which considerable verbal facility is required.' 17

It is obvious, of course, that competence in the English language is a prerequisite to participation in the higher levels of the occupational structure, where rewards and benefits escalate very rapidly indeed. Differences in values have been found not to be a barrier to partial assimilation. In total assimilation, all differences in values must, it is logically necessary, disappear. However, migrants can identify with Australia, and presumably, achieve happiness even with very little knowledge of English or the Australian culture

'... the popular belief is not correct that knowledge of English is a prerequisite for the satisfaction and identification of non-British immigrants.' 18

It must be noted carefully that Taft is not saying that the English language is not a prerequisite of participation, which it patently is, but of satisfaction and identification. His survey workers would have found persons living meaningful lives within a little bit of Italy or Greece in the suburbs of Perth, which are, as many writers have observed, quite self-contained communities. But

for participation in the Australian society, linguistic and cultural prerequisites must be met. Quite clearly, moreover, this is facilitated by education.

'A young, well-educated person finds acculturation in practically every respect comparatively easy ' 19

where acculturation implies

'the acquisition of cultural knowledge, linguistic skills, and the adoption of new behavioural norms and habits.' 20

The vital question which we must now ask is this: is acculturation, (or assimilation, for that matter) a process in which one culture must necessarily be supplanted by another? In other words, is it possible for an individual to have two cultures (as he can the knowledge of two languages), as in the view of Taft? He does not directly answer this question but he gives some intimation of an answer when he observes that

'The term integration has an appeal as a possible alternative to assimilation since it does not imply the eventual loss of a separate ethnic identity.' 21

Thus, in his view, persons of a different language and culture can become integrated without losing their separate ethnic identity, that is, language and culture. Unfortunately, Taft does not supply a precise definition of what he means by integration but it must be surely a phenomenon measured in terms of participation. It would be difficult to conceive of any definition of integration which did not take participation into account.

An interesting aspect of Taft's conclusions is that the

migrants are, for the most part, 'reasonably satisfied with Australia'.

In addition,

'They most agree that immigrants should eventually become merged with the Australian community, but they vary on the speed with which they think that this should occur.' 22

We cannot doubt the accuracy or authenticity of the Western Australian survey interviews which have given Taft this information. But at the same time, we must allow that while the immigrants mostly agree that this merging (assimilation) will take place, that is not the same thing as to say that they should wish it to be so, or indeed that they have been offered any alternative to one of total assimilation. There is another question which may be asked in this context: how valid are the answers given by survey respondents? Do they, for example, really know what they want? How meaningful is the answer to a question the full meaning of which is not clear? As an example of this kind of problem, it is instructive to examine one particular survey result. Some children in the 12-14 age group were asked 'Are there any countries in which you would like to live more than Australia?'

Australian children:	Australia preferred 52%, Other 48% (Mostly U.S.A.).
British children:	Australia preferred 39%, Britain 54%, Other 7%.
'Non-British' children:	Australia preferred 30%, Parents' country 44%, Other 26% (mostly U.S.A. and Germany).

Source: Taft, op.cit., p. 31.

This information really does highlight the problem of exactly how meaningful are the findings of social surveys. When nearly half of all of the Australian children would like to live in a country other than Australia, we are entitled to question the validity of the answer. Are they not comparing the reality they know with that from television, since we can assume that the vast majority of these children have never left Australia, or Perth, in all probability?

With regard to the migrant adults interviewed in the survey, it does not invalidate our work if the majority really accept as inevitable, or even should positively wish, to be assimilated. Our case is not that migrants, or Aborigines, should be made to retain their distinct languages and cultures. On the contrary, it is that providing the prerequisites of participation are met, it should be a matter of individual or group decision to maintain or abandon the minority language and culture. Abandonment may lead to a vulnerability towards anomie but must remain a private matter. Taft takes the view that assimilation is inevitable in the case of the Australian society.

'This point (the maintenance of 'ethnic identity') may be a virtue in some ethnically pluralistic society but in societies like Australia it seems to be realistic to recognize that in one of more generations, immigrants or their descendants will become completely assimilated to some appropriate Australian group which is not distinguishable as an ethnic group.' 23

With regard to those migrants from societies with languages and cultures not too far removed from that of the receiving society this view has considerable credibility. But as we move away from the Northern European sources it become increasingly questionable. In the case of the Aborigines, assimilation is moving very slowly

indeed, if at all, and it is the situation of such people and the status of their languages and cultures from which this present work derives its impetus.

#### ASSIMILATION AS A CONCEPT

The concept of assimilation has received probably its fullest examination in the book by Milton M. Gordon.<sup>24</sup> In this work the nature of the process which we call assimilation is analysed and some recommendations are made on the basis of this analysis, with a view ultimately to explaining the problems of prejudice and discrimination. As in our work here, the laboratory is the whole of society, though in Gordon's case, the society is America. Gordon notes the infrequency with which the problems of groups within society are discussed. One reason for this is that

'... the white Protestant American is rarely conscious of the fact that he inhabits a group at all. He inhabits America. The others live in groups.'<sup>25</sup>

Metaphorically, he observes that we might say that the 'fish never discovers water'. In Australia as in America, a similar situation obtains, particularly in the widespread use by members of the public and business enterprises,<sup>26</sup> though not governments, of the term ethnic to describe any group or person in the community whose native language is not English. The employment of the term ethnic group often implies an absence of ethnicity on the part of the user, which is incorrect. This use of the term may in fact be attributable to Gordon himself, who popularized its existence, but who did himself use it in a rather more particular way.



Gordon refers to the model or concept of the 'folk society', a term used by Robert Redfield<sup>27</sup> to describe a tradition-bound society composed of 'tradition-directed' persons,<sup>28</sup> as named by David Reisman. For Gordon's purposes, the sense of 'peoplehood' made up of such tradition-directed people may be conveniently described as 'ethnicity' while the actual group may be called the 'ethnic group'.

Some of the problems in actually identifying the factors defining an ethnic group are brought to light by Francis in an article published in 1947,<sup>29</sup> when questions of race were much under discussion. In search of a common denominator for 'nation', 'race', 'nationality' and 'people', the 'ethnic' group seems to provide a suitable organising concept. This term coincides philologically with the French groupe ethnique, with the German Volksgruppe, and the Greek ethnos, which is called in other languages people, popolo, peuple, Volk and narod.

In trying to define the ethnic group it is easier to see what it is not than what it is. An ethnic group is not necessarily a race, nor a nation. Culture is usually regarded as a fundamental factor in an ethnic group which always has its own distinctive culture. Yet a common culture does not necessarily constitute an ethnic group. Peasants of all times and regions, for instance, show more or less identical cultural traits, yet they could not be considered as an ethnic group. They belong to the same cultural type, but not the same cultural group. The same could be said of the urban proletariat from no matter which country or continent. Ethnic groups possess a defining culture, but this may be a product rather than a cause of the group's existence. Language, racial affinity, and territory

may be important influences on the emergence of ethnic groups. But if, as Francis does, we find difficulty in establishing the formative factors of ethnic groups then we can at least recognize some characteristics of them. We may recognize, for example, that which Francis calls a 'we-feeling', or which has been called conscience de "nous" or communauté de conscience. The problem here is that this 'we-feeling' is also present in other forms of grouping from which we may wish to distinguish the ethnic group. With the group consciousness comes inevitably a will to perpetuate the group. In practice, the term ethnic group is applied to minorities within a community who are marked-off by a difference of language and culture, and possibly religion, historical origin or race, as well. Because, as we have noted, the term can imply an absence of ethnicity on the part of the majority community or 'host community', as it is sometimes called, we propose the term ethnic minority for those minority groups of distinct ethnicity.

Gordon adopts the definition suggested by Francis,

'When I use the term 'ethnic group' then, to refer to a type of group contained within the national boundaries of America, I shall mean by it any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories.' 30

This definition embraces differences of language, but by not specifically stating this factor, it opens its author to the criticism of understating the role of differences in language and the cultural variations that these must necessarily entail. 'Race', he observes, refers to differential concentrations of gene frequencies which are physically manifested.

In the American society a great many ethnic groups or minorities have existed and then become merged, so that the defining sense of 'peoplehood' is lost, while others continue to exist in much the same way as always. The merging or fusing process is assimilation.

'Assimilation is a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.' 31

So wrote Park and Burgess in an early but influential definition of 'assimilation.' It recognizes the fact that assimilation takes place ultimately on a cultural level, so that a distinctive culture is modified or abandoned. In a later definition Park expanded this definition further, recognizing the importance of two subjects which will be further explored in this work: language and participation.

'In the United States an immigrant is ordinarily considered assimilated as soon as he has acquired the language and the social ritual of the native community and can participate, without encountering prejudice, in the common life, economic and political.' 32

For fusion of groups on the biological level, Park and Burgess reserved the term amalgamation. Assimilation as here defined probably amounts to the same process which sociologists and anthropologists have called acculturation; it was defined by Rose as

'... the adoption by a person or group of the culture of another group. Or, 33 the process leading to this adoption.'

Gordon remarks upon two distinct kinds of assimilation of ethnic groups or minorities into a wider society. It is the crucial distinction between assimilation into a culture and assimilation into

a social structure. These two kinds of assimilation he calls 'behavioural assimilation' and 'structural assimilation'. This distinction is important because, as other writers have recognized, a certain amount of participation or penetration into the social structure can take place without acculturation. Eisenstadt,<sup>34</sup> for example, has emphasised the possibility of a culturally pluralistic society into which immigrants are 'absorbed' or 'integrated' rather than assimilated. Borrie and others<sup>35</sup> have also recognized the importance of this concept of 'integration'.

Once structural assimilation has been achieved, simultaneously with, or subsequent to, acculturation, assimilation in all other senses will naturally follow, in Gordon's view, until the final disappearance of the ethnic group as a distinct entity. This view of the assimilation process seems to present an accurate description of the fate of many of the groups which came to Australia. Integration is a concept that recognizes that assimilation is a two-sided process,

'The fact of the matter is that the United States has not assimilated the newcomer nor absorbed him. Our immigrant stock and our so-called 'native' stock have each integrated with the other.' 36

In his bid to explain the assimilation process in America, Gordon introduces three theories of assimilation: Anglo-Conformity, the Melting Pot, and Cultural Pluralism.

'... the Anglo-conformity theory demanded the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favour of the behaviour and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group.' 37

It recognizes the dominant position of the English language in American society and also of political, social and cultural patterns

derived from the English. Sometimes it embraces also a belief in an alleged racial superiority of the 'Nordic' or 'Aryan' races, and a belief in the inability of peoples of non-Nordic racial background to be assimilated to the model of Anglo-conformity may well have contributed to the various laws passed by Congress with the purpose of preventing the immigration of such peoples to the United States.

The theory of the 'Melting Pot' has been in existence since the eighteenth century, even though Anglo-conformity was the dominant model.

'The "melting pot" idea', writes Gordon, 'envisaged a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type.' 38

Not only was the melting pot a cultural one, but it was expected to be a biological one as well, in which a superior race of Americans would emerge. The idea became very popular around the early part of the present century, a time when America was receiving a vast influx of immigrants and the term gained currency following a popular drama of that title. Gordon claims that the expression 'melting pot' may be found in the writings and speeches of two presidents, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. If America was a melting pot, it is clear that it was one in which the English language and Anglo-Saxon institutional forms retained their dominant position. Moreover, the three major religions, or 'religious containers' as Gordon puts it - Protestant, Catholic and Jew - have been constant while nationalities have melted into one or other of these 'containers'. Furthermore, there are the racial minorities which are not encouraged to enter

the 'melting pot', specifically, the Negroes and the American Indians.

The third of Gordon's three theories is that of 'Cultural Pluralism'. This concept is a relative late-comer on the American scene, being largely a reflection of the experiences of the twentieth century. It more accurately describes the position of the American Negroes, who were never given serious consideration as candidates being suitable for assimilation. Among the European immigrants there have been many groups which have made strenuous efforts to resist assimilation and therefore maintain a plurality of cultures in America. Gordon quotes Hawgood's account of the Germans in America:

'To a great extent the Germans used their language as a weapon to ward off Americanization and assimilation, and used every social milieu, the home, the church, the school, the press, in the fight to preserve the German language, even among their children and grandchildren.'

The occurrence of World War I created a wave of xenophobia which focussed particularly upon the German communities and created a widespread demand that all immigrants be 'Americanized', that is, assimilated to the model of Anglo-conformity. In many of the communities there was, according to Gordon, a high degree of ethnic 'self-hatred'. In the years since then an increasing number of writers have found themselves to be arguing the case for a pluralistic society in America. The exact meaning of the term pluralism, which also has a venerable history in American political science where it generally referred to 'interests', e.g. agricultural versus manufacturing, is, in its sociological sense, vague. Berkson, for example, saw cultural

pluralism as a democratic ideal in which ethnic communities maintain their communality and culture while the individual should remain within the structural and cultural confines of his 'birthright' ethnic group, while recognizing the right of individuals to 'marry out' of the group if they should desire to do so.<sup>40</sup> The precise role of ethnic languages in the culturally pluralistic society does not receive any special advice from Gordon. The key variable, in his view, is structural assimilation. If plural cultures are to be maintained, they must be carried on by subsocieties which provide the framework for communal existence.

'The presumed goal of the cultural pluralists is to maintain enough subsocietal separation to guarantee the continuance of the ethnic cultural tradition and the existence of the group, without at the same time interfering with the carrying out of standard responsibilities to the general American civil life.'<sup>41</sup>

The linguistic and cultural prerequisites of this 'carrying out of standard responsibilities' is not spelt out, nor, for that matter, is the way in which they can be met - without sacrificing the ethnic identity - shown. Yet it does state in a basic form a position to which we will return.

Does contemporary American society find its reflection in this model or theory of cultural pluralism?

In Gordon's view, it does and it does not. With regard to religious and racial groups, it does, but at the same time there is a 'massive' trend towards acculturation into the American culture patterns. A more accurate description of the present American situation is structural pluralism, rather than cultural pluralism: a pluralism of structures rather than a pluralism of cultures. The obvious

question which cultural pluralism entails is: how can prejudice and discrimination be avoided if distinct ethnic identities are maintained?

Before this question can be considered, however, it is important to establish the precise logical nature of these three terms for the assimilation process, Anglo-conformity, melting pot, and cultural pluralism. Gordon reveals a trace of uncertainty in his use of them, for in addition to his description of them as 'theories' he also calls them 'philosophies' or 'goal-systems' of assimilation, and thirdly, 'ideological tendencies',<sup>42</sup> without offering an indication as to which they are, or in which sense he is referring to them. In fact, they are used at various times in all three senses. To a certain extent they describe what is happening during the assimilation process; immigrants maintain their culture, but they do so in the melting pot, while the outcome of assimilation is some degree of Anglo-conformity, (in the case of the English-speaking countries, of course: in France for example, it would be Franco-conformity). There are also goal systems of assimilation held probably by members of various groups. To the Anglo-Americans, Anglo-conformity would probably be the goal for which they would expect immigrants to strive, for those whose ethnic origin was not English but has been lost to them, their ideal for new immigrants could conceivably be the melting pot, while for those interested in maintaining ethnic identity, cultural pluralism would provide the justifiable ideal. From goals or policy justification to ideology is a short step, in fact it has been an age-old employment of ideologues to hang their creations upon the concept of ethnicity or any of its components - language, culture, race or religion. If



on the other hand, they are theories of what is actually happening in society, then they should be considered in the light of evidence which would tend to confirm or deny their validity. In this connection, it is important to realise that they are not necessarily mutually exclusive; they are alternatives which draw attention to variously differing aspects of the assimilation process which embraces, in one way or another, all three. All migrants are placed in a melting pot, but they retain always a certain part of their own culture whilst the direction in which their assimilation moves is that of Anglo-conformity, or conformity to the dominant language and culture.

With regard to the desirability of each of these three goals or models of assimilation, we cannot avoid entering the realm of human preferences. The desirability of Anglo-conformity, the melting pot, or cultural pluralism is probably, in the end, one of aesthetics. It is also related to the question of practicability since an unpracticable ideal is of little value. Gordon considers that cultural pluralism is practicable, and he also finds it desirable. His basic premise is that prejudice and discrimination are undesirable. Moreover, he realises that assimilation is never complete.

'Ethnic communality will not disappear in the foreseeable future and its legitimacy and rationale should be recognized and respected.'<sup>43</sup>

The main method by which this pluralism will be sustained in ways that do not lead to conflict is good will.

'The major problem, then, is to keep ethnic separation in communal life from being so pronounced in itself that it threatens ethnic harmony, good group relations and the spirit of basic good will which a democratic pluralistic society requires...'<sup>44</sup>

This, we feel, is rather weak. Attempts to foster 'good will' inevitably involve the introduction of a third party between any two disputing parties, as an 'honest broker'. If good faith still exists between two parties then the presence of a third party is unnecessary. Once bad faith has entered into a situation of conflict there will be very little that a third party can do, unless of course he has superior power at his disposal. Mere exhortations to disputants to have 'good will' are likely to be resented as the unwelcome presence of 'do gooders'. The problem of prejudice and discrimination must be treated at its causes rather than its manifestations.

To a very considerable extent, the causes of conflict are ones of interests - the ownership of territory for example, which nourishes the conflict between Arab and Jew in the Middle East - but they also derive from differences of language and culture, such that some groups are relatively handicapped. Moreover, these handicaps or barriers facing some groups can enable other groups to pursue their own interests more effectively and at the expense of these handicapped groups. Our present work has seen the influence of such barriers upon the participation of minority groups in Australian society.

Though he recommends 'good will' as the remedy to problems of prejudice and discrimination in the American society, Gordon does hint at the role of differences of language and culture.

He notes the tendency of the children of immigrants to become alienated from their parents as they become progressively assimilated to the American culture. He advises that

'The challenge for social welfare agencies and institutions in the immigration field is,

without mounting a doomed effort to stem the inevitable tide of American acculturation, to aid the second-generation child to gain a realistic degree of positive regard for the cultural values of his ethnic background, which will hardly retard the acculturation process, but which will give the child a healthier psychological base for his confrontation with American culture and for his sense of identification with and response to his parents. Such an effort should not preclude, of course, the encouragement of the development of effective English language skills, since this development is indispensable to adequate adjustment to American life.' <sup>45</sup>

Gordon accepts then, the fundamental notion that English language competence is prerequisite to participation 'adjustment' to life in American society. But he argues also that the children of immigrants should have help from governmental agencies in maintaining their ethnic cultures. It is regrettable that he has not foreseen the role of language in sustaining culture. Without its language, the ethnic culture must surely be lost when it is surrounded on every side by the all-pervasive language and culture of the host society, when that society happens to be urbanized, industrialised, and possessing of mass-media.

#### ASSIMILATION AND LANGUAGE

Another study of immigrant assimilation in Western Australia was the one by Ruth Johnston.<sup>46</sup> It is interesting to observe that in the literature of assimilation, language is starting to gain recognition as an extremely powerful, if not fundamental, factor in the assimilation process. In earlier times, language was regarded by many social scientists as a fairly unimportant factor, for the kinds

of reasons given above.<sup>47</sup> Gordon quotes from one writer, Brewton Berry, the following statement:

'By assimilation we mean the process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture. This means, of course, not merely such items of the culture as dress, knives and forks, language, food, sports and automobiles, which are relatively easy to appreciate and acquire, but also those less tangible items such as values, memories, sentiments, ideas and attitudes.' 48

Turning to the Australian context, we find that Taft appears to assign a rather low key role to language in the assimilation process. Among the facets in accordance with which an immigrant's relationship to his new group may be analyzed, we find

'Cultural knowledge and skills (including language) ...' 49

The belief that language is a skill, or a mere skill, as opposed to the conception of language based on an understanding of Sapir, Whorf, and the European writers, is often found among sociologists and has been carried to Australia. To be fair to Taft, we must notice that, at a later stage in his book, he does give us cause to modify somewhat the impression his earlier statement has created. He writes that

'... language comprehension and usage form a central region within any culture...' 50

thus indicating an implicit acceptance of the position of Sapir and Whorf.

By contrast, Johnston places language in a central position in her study of Polish, German and British immigrant children. She notes, for instance,<sup>51</sup> that nearly half of the Polish children use

Polish only at home, while one fifth of their fathers and nearly half of their mothers do the same. Some Poles used their native language at work and when meeting other Poles in the street, even though they know that many Australians do not approve. Among the Germans, by contrast, none of the parents of children interviewed spoke German exclusively. Very few of the working Germans spoke German at work, and on the whole, they spoke it less frequently in the street than the Poles spoke Polish. The German parents were aware of the unfavourable reaction of Australians to hearing German in the streets, but within the privacy of their own homes, they used it as freely as the Poles used Polish.

Australians interviewed in Dr. Johnston's survey were not in all respects negative in their attitude towards migrants. In one question, Australian parents were asked how they felt about their children accepting the same ways of leisure as migrant children. Some Australian men were against it but none of the Australian women had strong opposition. One Australian mother is quoted as saying,

'We went to a Yugoslav dance the other night,  
and that was marvellous',

while one Australian father said,

'It does not worry me. Migrants accept our  
conditions, we should do likewise.' 52

Clearly, in those activities where a language barrier is not present, participation by migrants, and also by Australians, can take place. But as will become clearer, in the status-producing areas of employment, politics and education, this is not so.

The linguistic side of the assimilation process can be looked

at from another point of view: that of language maintenance or language shift. Here a number of linguists have studied this fascinating subject. Probably the classic study is that made by Haugen of the Norwegian language in the United States.<sup>53</sup> It would, moreover, be probably true to say that all of the major languages brought to the United States by immigrants have attracted the attention of scholars.<sup>54</sup> In Canada, the study of relations between the linguistic groups has received detailed attention.<sup>55</sup>

In Australia, only in recent years has the attention of scholars come to focus upon the complex processes of linguistic assimilation taking place within society and hitherto unremarked upon. The actual loss of languages by persons or communities, known as language shift, has of course been recognized and lamented over a period of many years by those who are interested, sometimes migrants and sometimes not. In 1970 Professor L.F. Neal wrote

'What are we going to do about the many migrant languages brought to Australia? Are we going to kill them; or just allow them to die?'<sup>56</sup>

As a general answer to this question, 'we', the Australian public and its elected representatives, have been only in the mood 'to kill' during the period of intense anti-German hatred during World War I,<sup>57</sup> and since then taken an attitude which could be probably best described as indifference to their 'dying off'. The attitude has been described by Professor Forsyth in the following way:

'In the past, we Australians, like the Americans, have tended to adopt a casual attitude to our linguistic resources: we have put up with low standards of proficiency in routine language teaching

and we have let our migrants lose the languages they brought with them. This attitude clearly results in wastage and sometimes undermines the development of individuals.' <sup>58</sup>

The use of the word 'wastage' does of course imply a sense of value. Here many members of the Australian community who are of British origin would take the view that foreign languages are not valuable. At best they are quaint oddities. This attitude is profoundly rooted in the cultures of all the English-speaking nations, and is found in intellectual circles as well as among the community at large, as we have noted already in another work.<sup>59</sup> It has also been a characteristic of much of the social science in Australia.<sup>60</sup>

As we have observed earlier, migrants respond to the possibility of their children losing the language of their parents in varying ways. The most extreme form of response to this perceived threat is to return to their countries of origin.

In 1973, as an instance of this desire to return to the homeland, is the entire congregation of 125 of the Dutch Apostolic Society who are reported to be returning to Holland after 18 years in Australia. Although they regret leaving Australia, the effect of living in this country has been to fragment the Church membership and create, so it is believed, an estrangement between the migrants and their children. The church sermons are in Dutch but the children are drifting away from their community into the company of English speaking Australians.<sup>61</sup>

This disinclination of migrant parents to see their children become linguistically assimilated, well documented cause of family tension,<sup>62</sup> is but one of many reasons for the decision to leave

Australia, as of course, is indicated by the large proportion of British migrants among those in this category. In the early 1970s, the rate of return to the homeland was so great that of an annual intake of approximately 120,000, Australia registered a net gain of only 27,000.<sup>63</sup>

Among the other great linguistic minority in Australia, the Aborigines, there is of course no homeland to which these people can return and thus guarantee the preservation of their native tongues. Language maintenance among Aborigines has been tragically frail. Many of the surviving languages are retained only by a handful of speakers while among the white Australian community there has been little interest in Aboriginal language maintenance outside the circle of a handful of scholars.

It would be wrong to suppose that there are not many transitional stages in the process of language shift.

Michael Clyne has pioneered the study of this subject in Australia in his work with German speakers.<sup>64</sup> Like Forsyth, Professor Clyne also takes the view that the loss of language skills among those who were born in a non-English-speaking country - over one million - and the large but uncertain number of their children, is a wastage of resources,

'... little is done to tap our natural resources and increase the proficiency of children in a language in which they possess a background.'<sup>65</sup>

He observes that it is a misconception that of those children born in a given country, all will have a good command of that language.



A similar misconception is that the children of migrants will automatically have a knowledge of their parents' native language. Forsyth has also commented upon the deceptiveness of the notion that migrant children can 'pick up' a language.<sup>66</sup>

Clyne follows Haugen's distinction<sup>67</sup> between generation 1a, those migrant children who came to Australia after their speech habits had become fixed (usually by the twelfth year) and thus had acquired the most important concepts in terms of their first language, and generation 1b, of those who came to Australia with unfixed speech habits and before many concepts could be linked with the first language.

Soon after arrival in a new country, the migrant family's view of reality begins to change and new concepts enter their experience (e.g. gum tree, newsagent, mixing up languages, baked beans on toast) which are expressed in English words which they use even when speaking their native language. Children of the second generation, or generation 1b, unwittingly employ expressions really transferred from English, as for example, in television watchen and geschrunkn ('past participle' of schrinken (to shrink) in German).

Children of generation 1a are required by their new circumstances to 'get by' in English. This, observes Clyne, may prevent them from really mastering their language and thus has the effect of forcing them into a state of 'linguistic homelessness'.

The standard of the migrant language (in Clyne's study it was German) of generation 1b and second generation children depends largely on the language spoken at home, which is influenced in turn by the number of children. Of 34 post-war migrant families studied by Clyne,

a minority used German as their general home language: 45% of those with one child and 25% of those with more than one child. The common situation in migrant families is for the parents to speak in German while the children respond in English. Among those families where the parents' English is 'poor, the two generations have 'virtually no common medium of communication'.<sup>68</sup> This may, moreover, lead to a situation in which parents have very little control over their own children.

Attempts by parents to compel their children to speak only in German will cause the children to transfer the meanings of English words to partially corresponding German ones, or to translate literally (e.g. für Examen sitzen, sit for exams, instead of Examen machen), or sometimes to create a word by pronouncing an English one as though it were German (e.g. Hetmeister, and Umbrellen). Many migrant children hear only dialect of 'sub-standard' language at home, and this provides a poor model for the purposes of learning the language.

Among some other languages this problem is even more acute. Migrants from Italy are more likely to speak an Italian dialect rather than Italian itself when they arrive in Australia. After a period in the new country many anglicisms enter their own language, to the extent that it is now possible to perceive the development of a new dialect.<sup>69</sup> The problem for this dialect, notes Andreoni, is not whether Australitalian is a dialect but whether it is an Italian one. Some examples of how words and phrases from the English language have been adapted and taken over for use in Australitalian to which our attention has been drawn by Andreoni are <sup>70</sup>

<u>Italian</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Australitalian</u>
molto	long	longo
passai or transcorsi	I spent	spesi
mesi	months	monti
mi divertii	I amuse myself	m'amusai
raccolto	harvest	arvesto
canna	cane	cana
denaro	money	moneta
terra	land	landa
ho bisogno	I need	nido
mandari	to run	rannare
avanti		

Why has this new dialect of Italian (and it is surely still more one of Italian than of English) come into being? One of the two reasons given by Andreoni corresponds to that given by Clyne with respect to German in Australia, viz., to provide a verbalisation of concepts not present in the home country but now confronting the speakers of that language in their new environment. An example Andreoni gives is the expression ringo barcare (to ring-bark a tree), an expression for which there is no need in the Italian countryside where relatively few trees are left and for which a new phrase would have to be coined, such as scortecciare ad anello. Most immigrants would find it easier to take over the equivalent English expression. A second reason which he gives is that Australitalian provides a lingua franca:

'In Australia, migrants from Lombardy and Venetia live with those from Calabria and Apulia, and, in order to communicate as an old immigrant pointed out to me, they use this lingua franca which is a mixture of Australian English and Italian.' 71

A characteristic of the dialect is that it is widely spoken but seldom written: Andreoni has obtained most of his information from real estate agents' notices. This may go some way towards explaining its existence, insofar as that the activity of writing a language is a conserving influence. Its effect on those children who learn it rather than Italian is obviously to debilitate their communicative skills with regard to speakers of standard Italian. Sometimes Italian words are used with English meanings as in Lodo il trucco, which in Australitalian means not 'I praise the make-up' as in Italian, but 'I load the truck'. This phenomenon of parts of one language entering into another has been called by linguists interference.

Not only does the process of language assimilation affect the mother tongue of migrants to Australia, it also affects Australian English.<sup>72</sup> The immediate impact upon the English language of the presence of migrants in the community is in the introduction of new words (and concepts) representing the 'Europeanisation' of Australia's eating and drinking habits. Clyne notes the following words which were in 1939 relatively unknown among monolingual Australians but which are now firmly entrenched in Australian English: capuccino, espresso, gelato, mocca, pizza, spaghetti bolognese, goulash, paprika, sauerkraut, weiner (wiener) schnitzel, yogh(o)urt, and the 'loan-blends' liverwurst and apple strudel.<sup>73</sup> To this list we may add for flavour poppadum, reis staffel, ouzo, saki, camembert and gruyere.

With regard to other languages besides Italian, there is clear evidence that the process of linguistic assimilation is taking place. Clyne has written,

'Australia is a 'meeting-place' of speakers of different related dialects and languages. Consequently interlocutors have to make considerable adjustment to their speech and it is often the English item that bridges the 'communication gap' between the corresponding items in the two dialects.' <sup>74</sup>

It seems very clear that the answer to the problem of 'language homelessness' which many persons in Australia are today enduring and in which they have no secure knowledge of either the native language or the English language, lies in bilingual education.

While some pre-Second World War studies suggested some 'harmful' aspects of bilingualism, most studies since the war have emphasised its advantages. This discrepancy might have been due to faulty research procedures. In 1970 Balkan <sup>75</sup> administered tests on sixty-five matched pairs of monolinguals and balanced French-English bilinguals. He was able to conclude that the bilinguals showed a superior aptitude at verbal and perceptive plasticity, and that bilingualism cannot be assumed to form a handicap in the development of verbal skills. Balkan has shown that differences in bilingualism are not caused by differences in intelligence, moreover.

The relationship between bilingualism and intelligence has not so far been the subject of empirical investigation in Australia, although it has been the subject of debate. But it is important to note, as Professor Clyne does, that in Australia,

'... bilingualism of the most varied types and degrees is a fact of reality ...' <sup>76</sup>

and with regard to educational policy, he notes the recommendation of the Canadian Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism that

'... all children must be given an introduction to the second language through the school system.'

It seems clear that language maintenance in Australia has succeeded for some language groups, particularly those which have experience of maintaining language and culture in an alien environment, as do, par excellence, the Poles, Greeks and Latvians,<sup>78</sup> but for others it is not. To succeed it would need institutional support through the education system and this is, in Australia, in its initial stages for migrants, while for Aborigines, it is still under discussion.<sup>79</sup>

It is obvious, though, that if groups wish to maintain separate cultural identities then they must do it through language maintenance. Given that migrants and Aborigines possess the prerequisites for participation in the future, and that assimilation is thus rendered an unnecessary (as well as unobtainable) ideal, then government policy should promote the maintenance of language, culture and 'ethnic' identity. Providing that public transactions continue to be carried out in the English language, there is no valid reason why private matters cannot be conducted in any other language. To permit, and even encourage the use of other languages in the context of the personal or private relationship, may well encourage the identity and stability of the individual, the family and the ethnic group, and therefore society itself, while unsuccessful assimilation attempts may place it in danger. To recall the advice of the psychiatrist: deprivation of identity may lead to murder.<sup>80</sup>

But is it not possible for the member of a minority group to shed his former identity and replace it with a new identity based on

the mass culture? Undoubtedly this does happen as Taft and others have shown. But a sense of identity is not always readily forthcoming to those who would wish to identify with the larger society, the members of which may themselves be suffering a crisis of identity. Professor Fishman<sup>81</sup> has made a perceptive analysis of this problem.

'Mass culture produces (or induces) both conformity and fluidity. On the one hand it manufactures, popularizes and distributes products - including cultural products - for a mass market. In this sense it is dependent upon standardisation of products and homogenization of tastes and is, therefore, diametrically opposed to both particularism and traditionalism ... the conformity-producing and the change-producing aspects of American mass culture are related to each other, and are in concerted opposition to the rooted particularism of primordial ethnicity.'<sup>82</sup>

Many of the migrants interviewed in Zubrzycki's survey<sup>83 a.</sup> of the Latrobe Valley indicated an awareness of a sense of vacuity pervading the Australian culture, with its absence of festivities, its materialism and its heavy dependence on television programmes, most of which are overseas in origin. Minority group identity, with its emphasis on the family, communalism and sharing is often contradictory with the Anglo-Saxon cultural identity which emphasises the individual, consumerism and self-fulfilment, but the two are not irreconcilable as we have seen in the case of the Jews and the Chinese. It is possible that many young migrants and Aborigines have been misled into overestimating the alleged benefits of conformity to the values of mass society. Others at the same time are trying to revert to the values of their original culture. Education policy could do much to alleviate this problem as we shall note in the following section.

## EDUCATION POLICY

There is by now no doubt that participation is directly related to education. The better educated a person is then the higher his degree of possession of the prerequisites of language and culture needed for participation. There are signs that leaders of the migrant groups are now aware of this and are taking political action.<sup>83</sup> As yet Aborigines have not started to make educational demands though many observers have remarked that they should. Professor Mazrui for example, has stated that

'Aboriginal parents should be forced to educate their children.'<sup>84</sup>

Many educationists have thought that education should be distributed more widely so as to take in Aborigines and some universities in Australia have now made provision for special entry by Aborigines and others deemed to be educationally deprived. Although these provisions may spring from ideals of the highest kind, they are unlikely to attack the problem at its roots which lies in a lack of certain skills and not a lack of paper qualifications. The effect on public confidence of knowledge that certain minority groups had easier access to, say, medical degrees, would be simply to accept that those degrees are inferior.

We have been warned by Labov and others<sup>85</sup> that the present simple answers to the problem of educational handicap are not effective. It is important that the vital task of equipping Aborigines for participation in Australian society is not equated with a simple need for increased expenditure. Educational welfarism does not attack the problem of inadequate educational preparation any more than welfare



payments attack the problem of unemployment: they alleviate the symptoms of distress. The Australian public has been advised by the Chairman of the Council of the Office of Aboriginal Affairs that

'we are producing a race of cripples - children who will never be able to live normal lives, every one of whom will be a cost on the State.'<sup>86</sup>

If the analysis and concept of Part I of this work is correct, then we must believe that the appropriate strategy for Aboriginal education is to introduce these indigenous people to Western culture not, as at present, through encounters with law enforcement and social welfare agents and sometimes unscrupulous salesmen, but through the education system, employing ideally members of their own race, and working first of all in their own language so that a bridge is formed. This policy strategy is not original with this work. It stems in fact from a study of the writings and opinions of a great many persons who have grappled with the problems. It is interesting, though not surprising to learn that those linguists and anthropologists who have concerned themselves with Aborigines have reached an identical conclusion.

In his paper to the Linguistic Circle of Canberra,<sup>87</sup> Dr. S.A.

Wurm rejected the often-put argument that

'... to encourage aborigines whose culture has not yet disintegrated to adhere to their old ways as far as this is practicable, may be retarding and hindering their adjustment to the white man's ways and civilization.'<sup>88</sup>

Against this view, Wurm argued that

'... the opposite may be true, and that attempts on the part of persons and authorities to give aborigines in their care encouragement on these lines may be of beneficial value in the process of assimilation rather than a retarding and a hindering factor' ... 'It appears that, in most

instances in which aborigines are actively encouraged to forget about their own ways as soon as possible and to adopt the white man's ways instead, the result is a very rapid breakdown of native society, culture, life and values, and insufficient and unsatisfactory replacement of these by white man's ways and values. The outcome is a highly accelerated loss of native background with only rudimentary elements of a totally alien background taking its place.' 98

Wurm pointed out that while Aborigines may learn to imitate white men's customs and habits in a fairly short time, it is without an understanding of the underlying principles of thought upon which such behaviour is often based. In consequence, many Aborigines have suffered a loss of self-respect and a general loss of interest reflecting the cultural vacuum in which they find themselves.

What is the role of language in this process?

'The aboriginal language plays a most important part...' writes Wurm. 'Language is one of the highly persistent parts of a culture ...' '... as long as a native language survives, the aborigines speaking it still have some hold on their own ways, because language is a system of symbols with references to elements and items in the framework of an individual culture. ... It appears, therefore, to serve no constructive purpose to encourage the loss of an aboriginal language' ... 'Failure to observe this (principle) leads, as a rule, to the community forgetting the aboriginal language and speaking a broken jargon of corrupt English instead. It is very much more difficult to teach such a community proper English than is the case with a community in which the aborigine language is still flourishing and English is spoken only by a few members of the community.'

Wurm makes the point that it is quicker and simpler to make Aborigines literate in their own language than in English, even though the language is unwritten, has a very simple alphabet and consistent spelling for that language can be devised by a 'competent linguist'. Making the Aborigines literate in the language they already know teaches them

the principle of dividing and subdividing utterances into smaller units of grammar. This experience is, in Wurm's view, a far better equipment for the learning of proper English than any other.

Wurm is at pains to counter some arguments against this procedure.

One argument is that 'literacy is only of value to people who have a literature of their own'. There are two points to be made in opposition to this view. Firstly, it assumes that the value of literacy lies in reading literature. But literacy is also useful in day-to-day life, in communicating with family and friends. Often a community in the process of breaking up sees its members scattered over a large area, particularly with those of its members engaged in pastoral work. Literacy is of enormous value in keeping the members of such a community in contact, thus materially assisting in keeping the community functioning as a whole. In this respect it is important to realise that for Aborigines the 'community' is the equivalent of the white man's 'home'.

The second assumption underlying this view is that Aborigines have no literature of their own. In fact, however, Aborigines have a very extensive literature, with the difference that it is an oral one. Wurm argued that Aborigines should be encouraged to write down as much as possible of the myths, legends and stories of their oral literature. It goes almost without saying that these will soon be lost forever in the absence of the means to record them; they will in fact die with the language. Their loss will render the members of a particular community that much more vulnerable to alienation and a sense of cultural displacement.

Dr. Wurm makes the additional point which has since been borne out by the field research of the Queensland Language Survey team, that where Aboriginal children have come to use English rather than the Aboriginal language, it is not good English, it is the broken English which they hear spoken around them. It would, in Wurm's view, be far better if they spoke the tribal language at home and learnt standard English in the school.

Moreover, it is highly desirable that those Europeans in charge of schools and mission stations should learn the native languages of the people in their care. This would enable such people to make Aborigines literate in their own language prior to learning, and becoming literate in the English language. There would moreover, be two important social consequences resulting from the ability of white men to converse freely with Aborigines in their own tongue.

Firstly, it would contribute to counteracting the Aborigines' feeling of inferiority and the shame which they often feel about their language which is often referred to by white people as 'senseless babble' and 'gibberish'. If a white man takes the trouble to learn this 'senseless babble', obviously it is not regarded by all white society as something to be despised, and will therefore raise the self-esteem of the Aborigines.

Secondly, a white person who has mastered an Aboriginal language is able to direct and guide the Aborigines with whom he is in contact towards meeting the exigencies of white society. He can explain concepts and customs to the Aborigines in their own terms of reference which they will understand far better than if English had been used.

In fact it may not even be possible to explain such things at all for

'... attempts to explain an alien cultural complex to people in terms of reference alien to them in constant, and partly even in form.' 91

One last point considered by Wurm is the possible source of objection to his strategy on the grounds of the very large multiplicity of Aboriginal languages. But here it must be recognized that there is a high degree of similarity of sound structure and grammatical structure between the Aboriginal languages, so that what has been said about giving literacy to Aborigines in an Aboriginal language remains fully valid irrespective of whether that language is the mother tongue or not.

'Only very minor changes, if any at all, have to be made in a system of writing devised for one aborigine language to make it suitable for writing other aborigine languages.' 92

In practice, however, the lack of following of Dr. Wurm's suggestions has caused a broken English, or Aboriginal English to become the lingua franca of many young Aborigines, while the disintegration of Aboriginal culture proceeds at an increasing rate.

Professor Elkin wrote an interesting review of Dr. Wurm's paper,<sup>93</sup> a few months later. The argument developed by Wurm - that command of the Aboriginal languages provides 'an indispensable means of assisting the process of assimilation'<sup>94</sup> - is, Elkin notes, practically the same plea, and the same argument as that which he himself had made in the 1930s. In fact, courses in Aboriginal languages specifically designed for missionaries and patrol officers were set up by himself in the University of Sydney, and later led to the development of the Summer

Institute of Linguistics, a development that was assisted by the leaders of the Wycliffe Bible Translators of Santa Ana, California, and Dr. Pike of the Sydney University Anthropology Department.

However, there have been problems in the way of this strategy. Unless, Elkin observed, the Government and Mission authorities rule that their field staff must use the local Aboriginal language, and are trained to do so, only the exceptional person will grapple with it. Furthermore, the shortage of staff has dictated that the training of field officers must be confined to the bare essentials and

'... in Australia these have not<sup>95</sup> included use of Aboriginal languages.'

There is, as Wurm noted, a multiplicity of Aboriginal languages and also, an apparent but deceptive facility on the part of Aborigines for picking up English. Christian missionaries and government agencies have felt that the urgency of their respective tasks is such that Aboriginal language learning is non-essential. With increasing contacts, particularly commercial ones, with white society, literacy in English has become of paramount importance. But the present (Elkin wrote in 1963) government policy of

'... teaching English directly to non-English speakers without using the latter's language as a medium, has not proved as successful as was hoped' ... '...a bridge is needed between indigenous concepts and those the teacher seeks to introduce; and unless the local language be used as the main structure of that bridge, the children are apt to flounder and seem unable to go beyond rote achievement.' 96

Elkin referred to the success of the direct method of teaching English to European migrants. But their case, as he notes, is different from that of Aborigines.

'They, or most of them, are literate in their

own language, and those who are not literate at least possess a written language, whereas the Aborigines do not.' 97

Moreover, the concepts and meanings of one European language are not so vastly different from those of another as with the Aboriginal languages. Professor Elkin gives an example taken from a translation of the Apostles' Creed into Aranda, given at Hermannsburg in 1930. How could the idea "I believe in the Holy Spirit" be translated? The answer was

to tnakama/wurinja/alknaltarana :

I believe/wind/clean.

In this and in other translations of concepts, meanings are not translated directly

'... the meaning has to grow gradually, and to do so in the minds of the Aborigines themselves.' 98

We must pay particular attention here to Elkin's use of the verb 'to grow' when applied to the awareness of an alien culture. The process is a gradual one and instant transformations cannot be expected, yet so often they are. Professor Elkin referred to the impression he received from a visit in 1946 to the Aborigines of the Lutheran Mission at Cape Bedford, Cooktown, North Queensland, where, in the region, they did farm work and helped to run a cattle station. Their lives were orderly, contented and religious

'They were good citizens and good church folk. A basic reason was their literacy in their own language, Kokoyimidir, and in English. They had pride in something which was truly their own, their language. In addition, they could appreciate through reading what agriculture, pastoral work, money and the Church were and could mean for them.' 99

At the same time the role of the missionaries must be recognized.

'Behind this welcome example of "integration" was the devoted and continuous labour for forty years of two missionaries, the Reverend and Mrs. G.H. Schwarz, who tried to enter the life and thoughts of the Kokoyimidir through their language and then lead them into the English language and into Australian economic and religious life.' 100

Elkin believed that this was the appropriate method for bringing Aborigines into a meaningful relationship with white society - of course it seems hard to visualize any other - yet at the time he wrote, the use of Aboriginal languages in school or mission, government or other, was 'a matter of chance'. He recognized the fundamental validity of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in that for Aborigines assimilation implies a cultural change, an acceptance by Aborigines of an alien culture.

'Assimilation implies that the Aborigines will grasp and apply our European system of values and the basic concepts which underly our economic and social relations ... we know that their goals differ from ours, as do their concepts of time, space, ownership, property, individuality, kinship, responsibility and so on. In short, their philosophy of man and the world, and the basic premises from which they argue quite logically differ from ours.' 101

This philosophy or world view can only be grasped through a detailed knowledge of the language in which it resides. Elkin here saw a task for a trained philosopher. Such a philosopher would be able to give invaluable assistance in the task of bridge-building so that Aboriginal children and adults can enter a Western society. Without that bridge, too much is being asked, and we may conclude that the present policies of the State and Commonwealth governments



with regard to Aboriginal education, will remain ineffective until such time as they recognize the educational validity and relevance of Aboriginal languages and cultures. This would also do much to lessen the sense of cultural precariousness facing young Aborigines looking from the outside at the Australian mass culture, since they would be able to enter it and leave it as they wish, or in ways that they should wish.<sup>102</sup>

### CONCLUSION

In our Introduction we stated that the political scientist's distinctive contribution is to study the process of nation-building and nation-maintaining. This activity requires an observation of many interrelated variables, but among these, participation in society is the one which we have singled out for particular examination. Participation is a matter for individual abilities and dispositions but when we looked at various groups within Australian society, it emerged that each had a characteristic form of participation after allowing for individual variations. This is so because participation demands certain prerequisites of linguistic and cultural knowledge, though exactly how much we were unable to specify.<sup>103</sup> Lack of participation, manifested in unemployment, illness and depression, and general sense of hopelessness, leads surely to anomie or loss of identity.

In Australian society at the present time we can observe that

migrants are able to improve the nature and type of their participation, while Aborigines are remaining firmly entrenched in their position at the fringes of society. This lack of participation will surely lead to conflict.

Professor Tatz has written<sup>104</sup> that,

'What I am suggesting .. is not that we will have a South African type holocaust here, but if we continue to exclude Aborigines from participation in decision making in matters affecting them, and if we continue to make benevolent paternalistic and all-knowing decisions about them and for them, white Australians should not be surprised to find in a short time that Aboriginal resentment and hostility takes on something of the shape and form that it has taken on in other countries.' 105

Participation and involvement is the answer to problems of identity, but, we would argue, not just participation in matters affecting the particular groups itself, but in society as a whole. This is necessary to their well-being, moreover.

Given this policy aim, it must be recognized that assimilation is not the appropriate strategy for achieving it. Assimilation and acculturation are proceeding inevitably when groups are brought together, but to try to force assimilation is an ill-advised policy. It is always more effective to see that individuals possess the linguistic and cultural prerequisites for participation and then allow, or indeed encourage, the maintenance of separate languages and cultural identities. Those groups which have been able to achieve this aim of significant participation in society without the loss of identity, as for example, the Jews and the Chinese, have made unique contributions to Australian society, and by so doing, pointed the way to the ideal

objective for other groups of non-Anglo-Saxon race, language or culture. To make this kind of contribution, these groups must possess the equipment to do so, and that is where public policy becomes important. No government can legislate for goodwill, tolerance and kindness between men of different background, nor is it legitimate to always blame 'society' for every case of individual unhappiness. Mere exhortation to one another to 'have goodwill' is similarly not enough to attack the problems of prejudice and unfavourable discrimination towards those who possess a lesser degree of competence in the language and culture of the majority.

However, if government policy were to work towards ensuring that minority peoples possess the prerequisites for participation, then a great step forward would be made towards relieving the pressures towards prejudice, by enabling groups to participate fully rather than being obliged to remain a resented burden on welfare services. It is this thought which leads us to conclude finally, that the prerequisites needed by an individual for participation in Australian society are the same ones that this society may need to demand of its members in order to secure its own preservation.

# FOOTNOTES

1. For a concise but invaluable summary of the history of immigration to Australia, see R.T. Appleyard, 'Immigration and National Development', in Hew Roberts, (ed.), Australia's Immigration Policy, (Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 1972), pp. 12-28.
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4. Ibid., p. 14.
5. Quoted by Appleyard, op.cit., p. 16.
6. Quoted by Appleyard, op.cit., p. 16.
7. See A.T. Yarwood, Asian Migration to Australia, the Background to Exclusion, 1896-1923, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1964).
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10. See for example Paul Sharp, 'Why Continue Immigration', in A.I.P.S., How Many Australians? : Immigration and Growth, (Sydney : Angus and Robertson, 1971), pp. 130-167.
11. Appleyard, op.cit., p. 26.
12. This practice is widespread among the nations of Western Europe and also in South Africa. See Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich, (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1964); 'Immigres, Les Nouveaux Esclaves', L'Express, (16-22 avril, 1973).
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18. Ibid., p. 70.
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20. Ibid., p. 68.
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25. Ibid., p. 5.
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28. See David Reisman, with the collaboration of Nathan Glazer and Renel Denney, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).
29. E.K. Francis, 'The Nature of the Ethnic Group', American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 52, No. 5, (March, 1947), pp. 393-400.

30. Gordon op.cit., p. 27.
31. Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 735; quoted by Gordon, op.cit., p. 62.
32. Robert E. Park, 'Assimilation, Social', in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Edwin R.A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, (eds.), (New York: Macmillan, 1930), Vol. 2, p. 281 ; quoted by Gordon, op.cit., p. 63.
33. Arnold M. Rose, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), pp. 557-8; quoted by Gordon, op.cit., pp. 65-66.
34. S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954).
35. See Gordon, op.cit.
36. William S. Bernard, 'The Integration of Immigrants in the United States', (UNESCO: (mimeo) 1956), p. 2; quoted by Gordon, op.cit., p. 68.
37. Gordon, op.cit., p. 85. The term Anglo-Conformity is attributed to Stewart G. Cole and Mildred Wiese Cole, Minorities and the American Promise, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954).
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40. Isaac B. Berkson, Theories of Americanization: A Critical Study, with Special Reference to the Jewish Group, (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920), see Gordon, op.cit., p. 149.
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42. Gordon, op.cit., p. 85.
43. Ibid, p. 265.

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45. Ibid., p. 245.
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49. Taft, op.cit., p. 6.
50. Ibid., p. 29.
51. See Ibid., pp. 79-80.
52. Ibid., pp. 120-21.
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65. Clyne, 'Maintenance of Bilingualism', Ibid., p. 125.
66. Forsyth, op.cit., p. 120.
67. E. Haugen, op.cit.
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70. Andreoni, op.cit., p. 116.
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78. See Joshua A. Fishman, et al., Language Loyalty in the United States, The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups. (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).
79. See Susan Harvey, 'National language usage among Dutch and Polish immigrant children', in Donald E. Edgar (ed.), Social Change in Australia: Readings in Sociology, (Melbourne; Cheshire, 1974), pp. 131-43.
80. See Part II, Chapter 5.
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82. Ibid., pp. 408-9.
- 83<sup>a</sup>. See Zubrzycki, Settlers of the Latrobe Valley, op.cit.. For some descriptions of Aboriginal cultures, see, J.H. Bell, 'The Culture of the Aborigines', in A.L. McLeod (ed.), The Pattern of Australian Culture, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, and Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963), or Ronald M. Berndt, and Catherine H. Berndt (eds.), Aboriginal Man in Australia, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1965).
83. See Graham Williams, 'Migrant Parents Rebel', The Australian, April 13, 1974. See also 'Easy entry to Open Uni. Courses', The Australian, May 15, 1974.
84. Ali Mazrui, 'Guest of Honour', op.cit., p. 4.
85. See Harvard Education Review, Vol. 43, (1973),

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87. S.W. Wurm, 'Some Remarks on the Role of Language in the Assimilation of Australian Aborigines', Series A, Occasional Papers, No. 1, (Canberra: Linguistic Circle of Canberra, 1963).
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93. A.P. Elkin, 'Aboriginal Languages and Assimilation', Oceania, vol. XXXIV, No. 2, (December 1973).
94. Ibid., p. 147.
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96. Ibid., p. 150.
97. Ibid., p. 150.
98. Ibid., p. 151.
99. Ibid., p. 151.
100. Ibid., p. 151.
101. Ibid., p. 153.
102. It is interesting to note that in the U.S.A. the State of Massachusetts now requires school districts to provide bilingual programmes for children whose first language is not English, while the States of New York, California, Illinois, and Texas have passed laws permitting local school districts to provide bilingual programmes. See Jeffrey W. Kobrick, 'The Compelling Case for Bilingual Education', Saturday Review, April 29, 1972, pp. 54-8.

103. Professor Broom (See Part II, chapter 2), felt that they would be about Intermediate School certificate level, but this must surely be in the nature of a minimal level of educational competence. In fact the prerequisites for participation are themselves variables, depending on the given level of participation.
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105. Ibid., p. 6.

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